National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment---Without Compromise. | EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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THE STANDARD.

Anti-Slavery Mass Convention,

OF THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, AT CITY HALL, SYRACUSE.

[*Concluded.*]

THIRD DAY—EVENING SESSION.

The President called to order.

Song by Henry Box Brown and James 'Boxer' Smith,—'Uncle Ned,' an old tune to new words.

Mr. Burleigh took the floor in opposition to Mr. Smith's resolutions. He did not believe they state the truth in regard to the constitution. The man who goes for them says, the constitution does not require the giving up of fugitive slaves—does not provide for having three-fifths of the slaves a basis of representation—does not provide for the suppression of the slave trade—does not provide for putting down slave insurrections by the power of the general government: all these things he must say.

Mr. Hathaway said 'as a man thinketh, so is he:' and upon this text he gave a pleasant discourse upon the importance of *toleration*. He considered government merely a voluntary association, like any other association, from which we are at libery to withdraw whenever we please. I have withdrawn from that association; and so far as I am concerned the Union is dissolved. All that man has to do, is to live up to his highest convictions of duty—and God will take care of Slavery.

It was said that principles had been added by the Liberty Party, to the original platform. What of that? On what did they set it? *That a man is a man the world over!* Have they abandoned that gound! It is the duty of every man to vote, and of every woman to vote.

A Voice: The women are guilty for no voting.

Mr. H. resumed: The schism in this American Anti-Slavery Society, was on account of the positions taken in reference to the churches and Slavery—though the pretence was, that a woman was appointed on a committee. Toleration, was all that was wanted. Some of the officers of the Anti-Slavery Society of Western New York, which was auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society were Liberty Party Men. And as an Agent of that Society, for one year, he had received "aid and comfort" from them, in kindness and money.

Mr. James C. Jackson said a government to receive his support must not only be founded in strict right, but administered on principles of strict right. My identity—my individuality—is never to be destroyed—it is to be maintained at all times. No government is worthy the name of a government, which attempts to infringe upon the *least* of my rights for the benefit of the rest of the people. You can't have a man so shut up under an "organic sin," that he cannot be identified and punished for crime. There never was a better cry, than that of disunion. I AM A DISUNIONIST. I am for no union with slaveholders, because they are tyrants—and resistance to tyrany follows necessarily from my ideas of the nature of government. There are not five persons in this house, who would be seen walking the streets of this city arm in arm with a notorious horse-thief. Yet there are five hundred, who, if some distinguished slaveholder, as Clay or Benton, was to come in here, would open to the right and left, and receive them with the most marked distinction. It would be a good thing if we could get all the slaveholders by themselves, somewhere on God's earth, gnawing their fingers.

As to the Constitution, I think the features of it intended to protect, extend and circulate Slavery No generation has a right to make a Constitution for a generation that follows. A Constitution is not a Constitution for me without my consent—unless I adopt it. I have the God-given power to reject the Constitution. If our dead fathers made the Constitution pro-slavery, by having pro-slavery *intentions*—will not Anti-Slavery *intentions* on our part, make it an Anti-Slavery Constitution. You never had a Constitution on any other principle. It is true that each man does adopt it for himself. It is aggregated individual action, which makes political action.

Who are the Liberty Party?—and what is it? and what are its principles? It is a political association—established in 1839—40: and was not the result of New Organization. It was the thought of Myron Holley. *The idea was to form a political association apart from slaveholders.* It never met my highest sense of duty, although I uttered it without sacrifice of principle, as I was associated with them by locality. If anybody wished to join us, they could. We had some members not so very good, doubtless. It is so in the Anti-Slavery Society.—Men belong to it, and contribute to its funds, who vote for slaveholders, and wear and eat the produce of slave labor.

Mr. J. made a stirring, vigorous and plain spoken appeal for more concord and toleration among all the enemies of Slavery. If the American Anti-Slavery Society insist on saying to those who think they can conscientiously vote, "You are perjured scoundrels," I cannot join it. This will not do.

The question at issue, is wisdom in the adaptation of means to ends. Both wish to abolish Slavery. The American Anti-Slavery people have no great respect for the ballot. If in voting, the ballot represents the character of a real man, it was one of the highest, noblest, most important social acts a man can perform. Thomas Jefferson, in one of his terms, was chosen President by a single vote cast in the 4th ward in the city of New York. The pulpit is preëminently the place to utter great truths; the the ballot box the place to do great deeds.

The matter of voting is maintained by the Liberty Party, on other grounds than our relations to the slave. Are there not other relations? Do we not want good laws? You must have social action to have laws—to have protection—and this we call government for the guaranty of our rights. You all, as husbands, men of business, act every day in a way to secure a protection for your person and property, by law. This you can get by a vote, and no other plan to secure these ends has been yet invented. I do not say a man cannot be a good Abolitionist and not vote. Only reciprocate the idea, and give the grip if you dare.

Mr. Hathaway explained his views of the origin of the Liberty Party.

Mr. S. S. Foster said there were many matters to which he wished to refer.

I wish to notice the positions of Mr. Jackson. According to his exposition of the Constitution of the United States, it is impossible to have a Constitution. You would have as many Constitutions as there are differences of opinion. It would be a nose of wax. This is nonesense. There is the paper. It has a fixed and unalterable meaning. Suppose my father made a contract to furnish your father 10,000 pounds of butter per annum, at one shilling per pound, for fifty years, and a shilling was reckoned at 16 2-3 cents. My father dies. I cannot fulfill the contract, at a profit. So my friend Jackson, says, change the *intended* value of the shilling, and adopt it for yourself, and call it 12 1-2 cents. Is not this the argument? The Constitution is what it was understood to be by its framers. That is the correct doctrine, and you cannot get away from it.

I now come to the question involved in the resolution offered by Mr. Pillsbury, which claims that the American Anti-Slavery Society, is *the only* true organization.

There are two questions in this resolution. Is it a true organization? Messrs. Douglass and Hathaway must think so, or they would not have joined it.

The other question is, that it is the *only* society founded on true and immutable principles. We do not say the Liberty men are not *true men*—but that their's is not the true organization. Why don't friend Hathaway join the Liberty Party, if it is a true organization?

Mr. Hathaway said that in his remarks he had not this resolution in his mind, and what he did say, was, that a "man could belong to the Liberty Party and be a good Abolitionist."

Mr. F. continued: What is the Liberty Party? It has stood for ten years. I judge of its character from its history for ten years past. I condemn it.—If not the Party of 1845, then that is another question. They claim to be the Party of 1845 If they are of another character, it remains for them to show it.

Mr. F. went on to remark; that in 1843, when he first came to this State, he was pelted with rotten eggs, as the people of this city could testify; and the only reason he was not treated to a coat of tar and feathers, was, that he gave them no opportunity to apply it. The same year I attended a Liberty Party State Convention at Buffalo. We differed somewhat in views: but the Convention finally adopted those in which I concurred.

Afterwards, our friends called a Mass Anti-Slavery Convention at Winfield, and Miss Abby Kelly and myself were requested to attend. We went. But there we met the officers of the New York Liberty Party, with Alvan Stewart, their President at their head, with their followers, and the President denied to Miss Kelly and myself the right to speak. The meeting did not sustain them in this assumption, when the President left the Chair and withdrew to another house, and organized a new meeting, and that meeting denounced Miss Kelly and myself as unworthy advocates of the slave. What can we think of such persons, as professing to be themselves the genuine friends of the slave?

What I complain of, in the Liberty Party, is, that they stabbed us in the dark. When we came to this Convention, the question was asked, "who shall be the officers?" Our friends called the Convention, and invited the cooperation of all abolitionists. But it was thought proper that our friends should officer it, and constitute the Business Committees. We introduced a series of resolutions. We proposed a division of the resolutions, but Mr. Smith objected.—Mr. Smith offered a substitute. Was this proper treatment? Then a popular vote was had: a most extraordinary movement. [To all this, he strongly objected: and much more, of a strongly personal character was uttered, but which we do not report.]

Mr. Smith asked for five minutes to reply, which Mr. Foster accorded. Mr. S. said he understood he was invited to take part in the Convention; and that his right to speak and make motions, was the same as that of any other member, be he who he may, or belong to what society or organization he may. If so, he was at perfect liberty to introduce his substitute; and the fact that he wished to do so, was reason enough for his doing it. It was enough that he thought them better than the original resolutions. [Some other things were said, in explanation of impressions entertained by Mr. Foster; but as we have omitted Mr. Foster's remarks, the reply to them is not called for.]

Mr. Foster remarked: Now, as to abolishing Slavery. I will look at the Democratic party. They say that they are opposed to Slavery—preach against it, and vote for a man for President who is opposed to the present limitation of Slavery!

Now let us look at the Whigs. Preach against Slavery and vote for a man who owns three hundred slaves!

As to Free Soilers. United with the Hunkers in New York, for the offices!—in Michigan, join the Whigs with the same object.

The Liberty Party. They tell us, you must get the majority of the people of the country to join them, and all put an Anti-Slavery construction on the Constitution—clear the bench of the Supreme Court, and get Anti-Slavery Judges—then take the Army and Navy and set the slave free. Get the reins of governments in their hands, and then use the Army and Navy to liberate the slave.

Now for our system—that of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The first step in our progress, is to ascertain the location and nature of the disease before we know how to treat it. What supports this mighty evil? Is it the Constitutions and laws. Certainly not. Slavery existed prior to the statute book. Your Constitutions and your Statutes are mere paper and black ink. The Constitution and laws have no appreciable influence over this matter. *It is the strong hands, and cold unfeeling hearts* of the 17,000,000 of unfeeling men and women in this country, that hold the chains upon the limbs of the 3,000,000 of slaves. If there is no power in the Constitution and laws, what is the object in voting? No party in this country pays any regard to the law. Every Liberty Party man disregards the law; they do it, in refusing to return fugitive slaves. Every body disregards law.

Look at it: The law to return fugitive slaves. A few years ago, they were all returned from all the States. Only a few years ago 20 were sent back from Boston. Let a slave go to Philadelphia, and his master can take him again: but he cannot get him from Boston. No. We have made Massachusetts *Free Soil!* How? By voting? No. The same thing is true everywhere that you have *revolutionized public sentiment;* the slave cannot then be re-taken, law or no law. He spoke of Judge McLean, as a slaveholder only a few years ago, and that his slave girl escaped from him at great peril, to prevent a Southern bondage.

Take Ohio. The Constitution does not allow colored men to vote. Yet in Oberlin, colored men vote in open day, and no man says why do ye so? And when the inspectors were brought before the Courts for indictment, the Judge decided that there was no penalty, and they could not be indicted.

So of the School System, in Ohio. The laws require the colored man to pay taxes for the support of Schools, but they do not allow colored children to attend the Schools! But they do go in Cleveland; and a man who attempted to get the Superintendent to turn out a black child, got only shame for his pains.

So much for the force of laws in favor of Slavery, and against liberty. Now for the other side.

The law of Kentucky said to Cassius M. Clay, "Go on and publish the *True American.*" But the unwritten law of public sentiment said he should *not.* This prevailed, and the press was sent away. I point to the streets of Alton—and ask you of what use was the law there which guarantees to every man the liberty of speech and of the press? And of the press of the Cincinnati ———, three times thrown into the Ohio? I point you to W. L. Garrison, and to the Tappans. *No matter what the statute is,* PUBLIC SENTIMENT GOVERNS. Then of what use is voting, to the Anti-Slavery cause!

If my position be true, that people do not govern their actions by this or that statute, but by their own views of what is most expedient, or what is right or wrong, of what use is it to elect this or that man to office?

[Mr. F. went on to make an argument, in reference to politicians, and the action of political parties; an effort which for energy, clearness and point, was well worthy to be placed before the reader.—But his *positions* can be ascertained from what we have given; and really splendid and powerful as was his amplification, our limits forbid its insertion. *Rep.*]

Mr. Foster said he would state his proposition for Union.

We want a course of policy which will most effectually act on public sentiment. This is the true course of policy.

If by any plan they can all stand together, and each do as he pleases, that must be the best for the cause.

Mr. Smith says that he expects his action by voting, will only be a *testimony* against Slavery. If it does this it helps to change the public sentiment. But if the vote is, regarded as a pledge to support Slavery, it does harm; it divides your expression: makes it nugatory, because contradictory.

Our Liberty Party friends say the Constitution is Anti-Slavery. Ninety-nine hundreths of the people say it is pro-slavery. The whole country, except a small handful of men say so.

Now, what *can* we do? Vote for men who will say, whatever are our views of the Constitution, we *will not, if elected, accept any office under it?* Concentrate our votes upon him; and when he is elected, let him stand as O'Connel did before the British Parliament for 20 years; and every new Parliament he was reelected, with a *pledge* that he would not accept the office, as the constitution then was. He stood there, till Parliament was compelled to rescind the odious restriction. The ballot is of mighty power when rightly used. We cannot vote as you do; for it seems like supporting the Constitution of the United States; and that we believe is supporting Slavery.

Shall we unite upon this platform?—or shall we go on not voting, and you go on voting as we cannot vote? If you want a testimony against Slavery, by this plan we can get it. If you want office, you will of course go on voting as you do now.

Mr. Burtis, of Rochester, moved to lay on the table all the resolutions relating to the Constitutional question.

Mr. Foster desired a direct vote on the resolutions of the Business Committee.

Mr. Burleigh, ditto: and said he should offer an amendment to the substitute, if brought to a vote.

Mr. Thomas desired to see a vote. The subject had been discussed till it had become stale.

The President stated the question to be on the motion to lay the resolution on the table. Taken and lost.

Mr. Burleigh moved the following as an amendment to Mr. Smith's substitute—striking out all after the word "seen;" from Mr. Smith's first resolution, and for both, insert to read as follows:—

"Resolved, That the Federal Constitution should, like other laws, be subjected to legal rules of interpretation: and that when it is thus subjected, it is seen to contain provisions favorable to Slavery—familiarly known as compromises with Slavery—one of which protected the foreign slave trade from abolition by Congress till 1808: another gave to the slave States representation in Congress for three-fifths of the slaves; another pledged the North to help to put down slave insurrections for freedom; and another empowered the slaveholders to reclaim their runaway slaves in every State of the Union.

Lost, by a decided vote, viva voce."

The question then recurred on Mr. Smith's substitute.

Mr. Foster called for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Foster said the reason why he called for the yeas and nays, was to show that the members of the Anti-Slavery Society who should vote had not changed their views on these questions.

In reply to a suggestion to waive the question on the resolutions;

The President said he was a Unitarian; and in their large assemblages, they avoided as much as possible a vote on opinions.

Mr. Smith said he had no wish on the subject of a vote: his wishes were what their wishes were.

Mr. Foster said he had no desire for a vote, otherwise than as a record of the opinions of those who voted.

Mr. Burleigh had no objection to an indefinite postponement, or laying on the table.

Mr. Pillsbury said the audience were not in a condition to vote. He thought it was Combativeness rather than their higher sentiments that were active. Under all the circumstances, it is due to the American Anti-Slavery Society, that there be no further action on the resolutions, that there may be no misapprehension as to the position of that Society.

Mr. Hathaway did not think the American Anti-Slavery Society, would be in any way responsible for the action of this Convention; nor would any other Society be responsible.

Mr. Foster said he wanted the names of those who should vote on this question, and who should say that the Constitution is Anti-Slavery; as he wanted to publish them in the *Anti-Slavery Standard,* that it may meet them at the polls hereafter.

Mr. Smith moved the resolution, (his substitute) be laid on the table. This was in deference to the wishes of others.

Carried.

Mr. Smith then offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we will not impeach the genuineness of any person's Abolition—the devotion of any person to the cause of the slave—either because, on the one hand, of his belief, or on the other, of his disbelief, that the Federal Constitution is responsible for the existence of American Slavery, and impotent to destroy it."

Mr. Foster moved to lay on the table. Lost.

Mr. Foster called for the yeas and nays on the resolution. He wanted to know how people voted.

Mr. Burleigh moved an adjournment. Lost.

Mr. Smith suggested a popular vote. Let the Convention act to-morrow. He must leave in the morning.

Mr. Foster said it could not be taken without a suspension of the Rules—and on that, he would call for the yeas and nays. He would further say, that he was now convinced, of what he was slow to believe, that there was something fraudulent in this matter. Why seek to make the A. S. Society seem to utter an uncertain sound? Why ask the vote of those who have not Anti-Slavery feeling enough to enrol their names as members of this Convention?

Mr. Smith—to relieve Mr. Foster—would move to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. Ward insisted that no society was responsible for what was done here. None but the individuals enrolled as members were responsible, and only as enrolled members. They represent in their action in this body, no Society whatever. All were invited and all came.

Mr. Burleigh did not question the sincerity of those who wanted the vote on this resolution, to-night, though he did not think it expedient.

The question was then taken on Mr. Smith's motion to lay his resolution on the table, and it prevailed.

Adjourned.

FOURTH DAY—MORNING SESSION.

Ten o'clock, A. M.

The President called to order. Messrs Pillsbury and Gerrit Smith, and others not in attendance—having left the city.

Prayer by Rev. Mr. Snow.

Mr. Jackson again brought forward the financial question; and moved that the subject be taken up at 11 o'clock. Carried.

The President stated the question to be, upon the resolution offered by Mr. Smith at the close of last evening's session.

Mr. Foster stated that the resolution was laid on the table, last evening.

Mr. Thomas then moved that it be taken up.

Mr. Burtis hoped that, in deference to absent members, it would not be taken up. We have business enough of importance to mankind, to occupy our attention.

Mr. Hathaway said those who had left, did so on their own responsibility. It was no concern of ours.

Mr. Thomas said there was no business but to consider resolutions; and as to those who had left the Convention, they were laid on the table, at any rate.

Mr. Burtis had the utmost confidence in the integrity of Mr. Smith's intentions; and argued that the discussion of this resolution would be in derogation of his wishes.

Mr. Remond said we should go on and do that which seemed pertinent and right to those of us who are present—and do what we deem our duty, without reference to others.

Mr. Burleigh was glad the friends of this resolution are sensible that it was not a proper question to have been taken last night. He had no objection to a consideration of the resolution. It is not politic to adopt a course hostile to the feelings of a portion of the Convention, if a union is desired. No one can doubt this.

Mr. B. made an exposition of his views of the position of Mr. Smith and Mr. Foster.

Mr. Burtis withdrew his opposition.

The resolution was taken up by unanimous consent.

Mr. Burleigh said he could propose an amendment, which would, he believed, make it acceptable to all, and that it would then pass unanimously. He moved to strike out "abolition" and insert "Anti-Slavery feeling"; and also to strike out "genuineness" and insert "sincerity." The last amendment he proposed for the reason that "genuineness" is susceptible of meaning correct views, as well as sincerity. Mr. Smith could not vote for it. The amendment leaves us all where we desire to be.

The motion was seconded.

Mr. Ward said for the life of him, he could not vote for the resolution. He could not vote for a self-condemnation. He believed in the "genuineness" of his own Abolition. He believed his own labors for 10 years were evidence of this. I endorse the genuineness of C. C. Burleigh's Abolition. I cannot endorse the Abolitionism of Joshua R. Giddings. But when men like Burleigh sacrifice all their worldly prospects for the slave, I can endorse them. I do not ask them to endorse my Abolition; all I say is, I will not condemn it myself.

The President explained: The resolution as amended endorsed the correctness of the views of none, but the sincerity of all.

Mr. W. continued: There is no standing together, if we cannot endorse the genuineness of each other's Abolitionism. I can endorse Burleigh. I am asked if Burleigh belongs to the Liberty Party? No. Does he belong to the American A. S. Society? Yes. But is he a genuine Abolitionist? Yes. I want he should do the same by me, when I go to his town and propose to speak!

Mr. Jackson did not believe in the genuineness of any man's Abolitionism, who does not vote. I do not ask these friends to endorse my Abolitionism. To be a genuine Abolitionist in the American A. S. Society, is *not* what it was to be genuine in that Society 10 years ago. *Then* they supported government—*now* they do not. What we want, and all we need is, to have confidence in the *sincerity, earnestness* of each other, in this Cause. I like the amendment, because it accords to me Anti-Slavery feeling, and sincerity in my views. As to my opinions—that is my business. When it comes Election day, you (addressing the President) may stay at home and write a sermon, and I will go and vote. The Trinity, under which we will serve, shall be, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

Mr. Thomas was confirmed in adhering to the original terms of the resolution. I think the word genuine, is the very word that should be inserted. I do not believe there are genuine Abolitionists in the Whig, Democratic, and in the Free Soil parties. There is a great difference between a principle and an instrumentality. I will not omit the Whig, or Democratic, or Free Soil Party. I will respect this feeling of *sincere hostility* to Slavery wherever it is, whatever instrumentality its possessor may employ. I think the instrumentality of the Whig, Democratic, and Free Soil parties is wrong; and that the American A. S. Society employ none at all. What is Abolitionism? It is a *genuine* feeling of hostility to Slavery. Shall I say Joshua R. Giddings is not a genuine Abolitionist? No. Thomas Jefferson was a genuine Abolitionist in feeling.

Mr. Jackson believed Mr. Smith wished to express his conviction of the sincerity of those engaged in the Anti-Slavery cause That the amendments would meet his views.

Mr. Burleigh said that according to the resolution, it was evident that some men's Abolitionism was not genuine. Abolition: it implies more than feeling; it refers to principles, measures, the right *genus,*—kind of action. We agree in the sincerity of many men's Anti-Slavery feelings, whose Abolitionism we cannot endorse. Abolition implies feelings, opinions and measure.

Mr. Fairbanks thought genuineness of Abolitionism, involved the correctness of their policy. We do not wish to charge any one with dishonesty.

Mr. Remond called for the question.

Mr. Fairranks moved an amendment to the amendment—that we will not impeach the genuineness of any one's devotion to the cause of the slave, &c., &c.

The amendment to the amendment was lost.

The question was then taken on Mr. Burleigh's amendment. Carried, almost unanimously; and the resolution was adopted with similar unanimity, in the following terms:

"Resolved, That we will not impeach the sincerity of any person's Anti-Slavery feeling—the devotion of any person to the cause of the slave—either because, on the one hand, of his belief, or on the other hand, of disbelief, that the Federal Constitution, is responsible for the existence of American Slavery, and impotent to destroy it.

Mr. Remond would remind the audience of an incident that occurred at the South, a few week's since. A procession of boys, averaging 12 years of age, of the length of two blocks, were driven through a city in Tennessee, for the Texas market. What would be the consternation—the indignation of the people of this city, if such a drove of boy's were to be seen going through these streets on a similar destination! Mr. R. went on to remark upon the fact, that Slavery was not sustained by Constitution or law, but by the negro hatred of the people. He would take his seat with a single word. There never was a time when money could do so much as at present. There are 200 towns in New York which have yet to be visited by an Anti-Slavery Lecturer. If that is the case in Western New York, what must be the case in other sections of the North.

Mr. R. concluded with a most powerful and glowing and eloquent appeal to all to sustain the Anti-Slavery cause. He went on to speak of this Convention as a glorious Convention. It did no harm to differ. If we had no discussions, it would be said, we had a "parrot" Convention. It is not necessary to convert the entire American people: a part can do the work.

Mr. Burleigh spoke to the same views.

The President made an appeal to the Convention, in reference to the high character and talent devoted to the Anti-Slavery cause by its Lecturers; and mentioned that Abbey Kelly had, originally, the strongest aversion to speaking in public, but did so in obedience to a conviction of duty; and that she had not only devoted her whole time, but the last dollar of her earnings and of her small patrimony. When we see such devotion, on her part not only, but on the part of such men as C. C. Burleigh and a score of others, how can we fail to give liberal contributions?

Mr. Douglass was called for, but wished to hear such men as Lindon King, of Oswego and Mr. Whitney, of Canandaigua.

Mr. King enlisted fifteen years ago. He was more easily converted than some. He was converted by the first Anti-Slavery paper ever sent to him; which was done through the Post Office, by the publisher. I was a whig at that time. I was a minister in a religious organization. I soon found I must leave the Whig organization; for I heard a cry to which they did not respond. For the same reasons, I was compelled to abandon my religious association. And now I am disconnected from the whole of them. They did not listen to the wail of oppressed, mangled, bleeding humanity. I have no party—no cause. My Maker has a cause, and I am bound to devote my energies to that. What a harmony should we present, if we would all regard this as God's cause; if we could only see things as our Father sees them. We are a commen Brotherhood. We are all children of our Father in Heaven, and belong to one family. Mr. K. continued in a forcible and pertinent application of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer to the circumstances of the friends of the Slave.

I am an out and out non-resistant. I believe I am here to benefit the rest of my fellow men. When I think I am appointed to execute God's will, then I will enter the Executive Department. I regret to hear people speak of their *responsibility* in reference to their cause. It is God's cause, if it is right. Go on and do your duty, and he will take care of Slavery. I do not believe the ballot-box ever made any man the better—and I cannot say I believe it never made any man the worse. I feel, notwithstanding I do not vote. Jesus had influence with men—but not at the ballot-box—and an influence which the Liberty Party never had and never can have. Mr. K. spoke at large of the law of affinity as governing political association. He said he no longer talked about "opening doors" or "shutting doors." There is One who opens and shuts doors—of what use is it, whether I open or shut them.

Mr. Foster moved that the resolution introduced by Parker Pillsbury be taken up and discussed as the next business of the Convention. Carried.

Adjourned.

FOURTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

Two O'clock P. M.

The President called to order; and stated that the meeting of the Convention this evening would be held in the Congregational Church, as the Hall of right belonged to a gentleman who had engaged it.

Mr. Howlitt (Mr. Foster not having arrived) occupied the floor for awhile on the Constitutional question.

Mr. Foster said the resolution (that of Mr. Pillsbury) had evidently been misunderstood. Mr. Douglass yesterday referred to it as claiming *perfection* for the American Anti-Slavery Society. He would therefore read it. The Liberty party does not pretend to be based on "immutable" principles, for they have charged them over so many times. The resolution was introduced at an early stage of this Convention, by the accredited agents of the Society which called the Convention, and it was their wish that it should occupy a prominent place in its discussions. But in this they have been frustrated. It remains untouched.

I stand here to prove, that the American Anti-Slavery Society is worthy the confidence and support of every friend of the slave in this country; and that no other organization is worthy of their support, not even the so-called Liberty party.

Mr. F.—in the course of his remarks—in referring to Parker Pillsbury, said he abandoned a pulpit where he had a prospect of earning a place at the head of his profession, which his strong and brilliant powers of mind and eloquence would have given him—and since that time, to his personal knowledge, had gone scores of nights supperless to bed, or with only a few crackers bought at a tavern, after speaking for hours for the slave in the midst of a mob, because he had not money to buy a substantial supper; while much of the time he had not clothing requisite for his comfort. This, said Mr. F., is what I call sacrifice for the slave! I honor those who work for the slave; but I honor most those who abandoned all the comforts and delights of home, of family and children, to plead for those children whose rights are daily and hourly trampled under foot.

Mr. F. objected to the substitute offered by Mr. Smith, as crowding out a direct vote upon the resolutions proposed by the Business Committee.

Mr. F. objected to the Liberty party as an instrumentality, because it had not the proper objects in view. We say, "Liberty first—other things afterwards." We ask you all to come with us. Is it so with the Liberty party? No. Mr. Smith told us that Anti-Slavery was not *the* object of the party. What did he say it was? To establish Righteous Civil Government. He spends his time in discussing questions, important in themselves, but of vastly less moment than the freedom of the slave. Mr. F. recounted instances of the personal sacrifice of the slave of members of the Old Organization, as showing he could not go down and join a party seeking to establish righteous civil government. To one, says Mr. F., this cause stands out as one that demands the energies of one's life. This is a reason why I could not belong to the Liberty party; and a sufficient one if I had none other.

I cannot go to work, and help in electing Wm. L. Chaplin, governor of New York. What would be the first thing he would be called on to do? To swear to support the constitution of New York; a constitution which Gerrit Smith in this Convention pronounced "infamous." Can I ever do such a thing as this.

I leave the remainder of the work in other hands. They will show that the American Anti-Slavery Society, is the only agency worthy the support of the friends of the slave.

I have not an unkind feeling towards any brother present; and I retract the charge made against my brother (Mr. Thomas) at the opening of my remarks, and no man in the world would be more happy to see him at my house, and have a table talk with him—for, after all, it is this "table talk" which governs the world

Rev. R. R. Raymond, Baptist minister of Syracuse, made an explanation in reference to some language used by Mr. Foster: and followed in some very pertinent remarks, expressing his admiration of such men as Frederick Douglass, Samuel R. Ward, and Charles Lenox Remond, who had shown themselves MEN in the face of the whole civilized world; they were like the flower, whose progress was impeded by a stone, but raised itself in beauty, stone and all. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

Mr. Burleigh said the expression of feelings of warm regard, and high respect for others, for their talent and virtues, was natural and right, where it was felt.

Mr. Hicks, of Auburn, said he was now fully convinced the American Anti-Slavery Society was right. He had thought the position of that Society in reference to churches was not right; but he did not think so now. A pro-slavery church and minister and religion, cannot be of Christ. He was now satisfied that that Society was the only true instrumentality.

I objected to the American Society on another ground. I supposed no good for the slave could be done but by political action. I am now fully convinced that I was mistaken,

I am now thoroughly convinced that the Constitution is a pro-slavery instrument. I am now a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society by profession; and what I can do, shall be done through its instrumentality.

Mr. Jackson said he had no objection to the American Society passing resolutions laudatory of their purity and excellence. I deny that the Anti-Slavery Society has helped all the fugitive slaves into Canada. Whigs and Democrats have jeoparded their lives, have given their money, have sheltered them, and so have men of all orders and parties.

Mr. Wheaton would suggest that generally the slaves who reached Canada, do not know who helped them there.

The President said he was for several years a keeper of a station on the under-ground railway, and he never appealed for assistance but to one or persons in his life, who declined.

Mr. Jackson said the matter was set right, and he was satisfied.

Mr. Thomas said the Liberty party and the friends of the Liberty party had been denounced. Sir, I find no fault with Burleigh and Foster that they have lauded Garrison and Pillsbury and their cause. In this I agree with them. But when this is done, I insist that they stop, and not go on in an assault upon the Liberty party and Gerrit Smith. To this I cannot subscribe.

No man venerates William Lloyd Garrison more than I do; but I also venerate Gerrit Smith and Wm. L. Chaplin. I agree with the abolition principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. But is that all? If Slavery were abolished, would all evil be extirpated from the land?—It is because that Society goes for nothing else, that I cannot go with them.

Sir, I claim that *that man is not an Anti-Slavery man, who does not go against all forms of human wrongs:* who does not go to redress the wrongs of the down-trodden white men in our cities and in our country. They have no Slavery in Europe, according to the intent of your resolution; yet they have no suffering, no oppression, no wrongs?

Adjourned—Mr. Thomas having the floor.

FOURTH DAY—EVENING SESSION.

The President called to order.

Songs by Brown and Smith, were called for by the audience.

Mr. Brown said he was shipped from Richmond by a white man. Smith for assisting was taken up and put in prison—had six lawyers and got clear—cost him $900—was born a freeman—had free papers.

[Mr. Brown has a very fine lithograph descriptive of his egress from the box at Philadelphia, in which he came from Richmond, and also a song to the tune of "Uncle Ned," which is descriptive also of the expedition, and is both touching and witty. Brown is getting up a PANORAMA OF SLAVERY which is to be done by an artist in Boston from Browns description, and is soon to be ready for public exhition. Brown is a man of most decided character; and it is difficult to believe that one year ago he was a chattel!—Rep.]

Mr. Foster would suggest, that—owing to the excited state of the audience, and to save any trouble now or confusion or misconception hereafter—no vote be taken on the Resolutions. That all the resolutions be published as offered. And we would also save time by this course.

Mr. Remond should object to this policy.

Mr. Foster said he should make no motion on the subject.

The President stated that Mr. Thomas was entitled to the floor.

Mr. Thomas resumed: He said the state of his health and lungs were such as to almost disqualify him from saying more. He would not have taken the floor at all, if any other one had seemed to be ready. And he should have said nothing, but for the rude assaults which had been made upon the Liberty Party.

The principle of the resolution, is, that the Anti-Slavery Society is the *only* correct organization, and the only one worthy the confidence of the American People.

Sir, I wondered at the attacks upon Gerrit Smith. But, I stand not here to defend Gerrit Smith. It does not become me to do so. In the language of a Senator of Massachusetts, "There he is, and there is all his history." And his history will be read with gratitude by the poor and oppressed, to the end of time!

What are the principles of the Liberty Party? They are to CORRECT WRONG WHEREVER IT MAY BE FOUND. Whether the wrong is committed upon the black, red or white man.—Righteousness disregards color.

Sir, it is said Slavery is a sin and a great sin. It is so. It is the greatest outrage that can be committed. It would be wrong and sinful *not* to embrace the black man. But if sinful to overlook him, it would be equally sinful to overlook the poor and down-trodden of our country whether white or red.

What right has the National Anti-Slavery Society to overlook the suffering and poor among the white men and women of our country? We have not overlooked the colored man. I believe Western New York is as much abolitionized as any part of Massachusetts. What has done it? The A. S. Society! No. It has been done by the Liberty Party! The gentleman says Slavery is the only curse.

Mr. Foster explained: The gentleman is mistaken. No man who knows me, will say that my hand and heart are not open to every demand of humanity. The American Anti-Slavery Society, however, is organized for a specific purpose, and to that it adheres in all its action. The redemption of the slave—the immediate unconditional abolition of Slavery—is that purpose.

Mr. T. continued: I do not impugn his philanthrophy or challenge his benevolence. He said the only purpose was in regard to 3,000,000 of slaves. If the Society refers in its action to anything but the slave, I have yet to learn it. This satisfies neither man or God. We are required to embrace all our poor brethern.

We claim that we have done as much as they for the slave. In my opinion, the cause of the slave, IS NOT THE GREAT CAUSE OF AMERICA.—It (Slavery) operates only on a class of my equal brethern. It assails them alone. It is said there are 3,000,000 of white men and women in the South alone, who are also despoiled and suffering. The Liberty Party embrace the whites of the South and the North, that the tyranny of this government, also destroys, and tramples under foot.

I hold that our wicked civil government, by opening dram shops, does the human family much more mischief than Slavery.

Can I approve of such a party which does not embrace this class of my suffering brethren? No. The Liberty Party has a heart to feel for all; the Anti-Slavery Society for one. My friend repels to the idea that we wish to establish a Righteous Civil Government, with a sneer. A government which does as ours does, is a conspiracy, not a government. Sir, this matter is not to be disposed of by a sneer.

Again: I claim, sir, that the RED MEN are worthy of our regard. Where are they? Our Government is hurrying them to their graves. What has our Government done to bring them into the universal brotherhood of man? Shall civil government continue thus to outrage all the rights of men in their persons? Yet the gentleman meets the idea with scorn.

Again: The Liberty party think War is a topic worthy of attention. What has driven so many of the young men of the country into the Army, but their disastrous condition, brought about by the injustice of this Government? Sir, I cannot belong to an organization which does not embrace this topic also.

The Liberty party would unite all these Reforms; the Anti-Slavery Society divide them. Our motto is, "United we stand—divided we fall."

Another reform, a leading one, too. We believe every man is entitled to a home; to a portion of the land; and that he derives the right to it from God. We are not sent here as trespassers. The element of land, as well as of air and water, is one derived from God, and is justly the property of all. The strong seize the homesteads of the poor and weak, and turn them out of doors. These evils are all the results of an unrighteous civil government. I have no *better right* to look upon Heaven, to slake my thirst at the spring of cool, refreshing water, than to a place to stand upon the footstool. It is the command of heaven, that man shall earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Every man has a natural right to a family; and he ought to have a place to bring them up in, and to educate them. We can never have that universal progress of which so much is said, and so much felt by every true philanthropist, unless a HOME can be provided and secured for the wives and children of the unfortunate.

I shall not pursue this subject; my health and strength will not permit it; but I felt bound to say so much, after the idea of a righteous civil government was met with such sneers upon the other side. All these evils are the result of unrighteous civil government.

I have no quarrel with these gentlemen. I agree with the objects of their Society. I am not free to admit—I do not admit—that my affection is less strong for the slave than their own. Like them, I started only for the slave. But when I came to discuss THEIR rights, I found that not they alone were wronged and oppressed by the tyranny and injustice of our unrighteous government.

I believe it is now understood where the Liberty party stands, and where the Anti-Slavery stand. Judge ye between them.

I am bound by the inevitable laws of my nature, in sympathy with the wronged and oppressed of my race, of whatever hue or name, and hence, no party but the Liberty party is worthy the full confidence of the philanthropist.

Mr. Randolph had thus far kept quiet, because there were abler men. I do not rise to defend the Liberty party—it needs no defence. I vote with that party. I express my own sentiments—and nobody else is responsible.

Mr. R. read the resolution and continued:—

Now, Mr. President, it will be observed that this resolution, definitely, clearly, and unequivocally, declares, that this is the ONLY true Anti-Slavery Society, and that none other is worthy of confidence.

I honor my opponents in this cause—not for themselves, but for their Anti-Slavery zeal and principles.

Their avowed object is the dissolution of the Union. Ask them, if they expect to dissolve the Union, and you will get a negative answer. He would make an experiment now. Do you (addressing Mr. Burleigh) expect to secure a dissolution of the Union?

Mr Burleigh: It is dissolved. I yield to the Government of this Union no allegiance or support.

Mr. Randolph: If you have accomplished your mission, what under heaven are you at work for now? [Roars of laughter, which for some moments convulsed the immense audience.]

Mr Burleigh: I have dissolved my union with this slaveholding government. What I have to do now, is, to get my brother also to dissolve his union with this slaveholding government.

Mr. Randolph: The Old Organizationists say: Dissolve the Union. I have heard Brother Garrison say: "Stand back, New York! Stand back, Pennsylvania! Stand back, New Jersey! Stand back, Massachusetts! Let this be done; let these States withhold their countenance from the General Government, and it is at an end, and the slave is free!"

Now I will admit for the sake of argument, that the Union is dissolved, or that they can effect it by their arguments. Have they proved to us or to any body that the abolition of Slavery will follow as a legitimate result of this dissolution of the Union?

Mr. Foster said the object of his mission to Syracuse at this time, was to show this thing. I wished to show, that if you would take YOUR heels off the necks of the slave, he would be well enough off—he would be at liberty at once! I find the Liberty party across my track; not the Whig, Democratic or Free Soil party.

Mr. Randolph: Our friend then does make the admission that the Liberty Party is, after all, of some consequence. No other party has "crossed" his track. We have been treated here from day to day, of the utter and irreclaimable insignificance of the Liberty Party.

But does the abolition of Slavery, necessarily follow from dissolution? It is one of their hobbies, to say it is the fear of Northern soldiery which deters the slave from rising upon his guilty master and maintaining his right to liberty. I was raised there among Slavery myself. I assert that there is not one out of 1000 of the slaves of the South, who know anything at all that the North are bound to go there and put down an insurrection. It is their ignorance, but there are honorable exceptions. Then away goes this part of their platform. It does not follow that emancipation would follow disunion.

Both sides of the question believe that with a correct public sentiment, if you had Constitutions enough to reach to Rome, you could not maintain Slavery an hour. In this country, PUBLIC SENTIMENT IS LAW. Get that right, and Slavery is dead.

The Liberty Party believe in political action. I believe that this and moral suasion, are as necessary as the union of water and fire to make steam. You cannot make steam out of either. I know our friends on the other side, are in the habit of referring to the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, as favoring their view. It was agitated, and agitated, and the public sentiment abolitionized, and anti-slaveryized and all the isms you can think of: and then it required the act of Parliament to accomplish the result. You must go to the ballot-box. You must have a correct public sentiment; but you must go to the ballot-box to give tone and character to that sentiment.

I voted for Gerrit Smith, and Thomas, and Ward at the last election, *because they hold the same opinions I do*. They ask, what do you expect to accomplish? We say, to abolitionize public sentiment. They only talk it. We talk it, and vote it.

I shall not discuss the Constitutional question. I believe that when properly construed, the Constitution is capable of an Anti-Slavery construction. Our candidates must come out fearlessly and plainly, and say the Constitution is Anti-Slavery, or they cannot have our votes.

While he was willing to accord all praise and credit to many members of the Anti-Slavery Society for their extraordinary devotion and sacrifices in the cause of the slave, he was not willing to vote for the resolution, because he did not believe it to be true in its assumptions, or bearings upon others.

Mr. Fitch hoped an opportunity would be given to the Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers—they had not said anything yet.

Mr. Foster said the gentleman, (Mr. Randolph) had placed him in the light of putting forward his sacrifices and those of his wife. He would explain the reason why he did it. It was to show that others had made sacrifices besides Gerrit Smith—that was the reason why he referred to Parker Pillsbury, his wife and himself, and others of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Remond made a reply to the remarks of Mr. Thomas, in which he traced the relative positions of the colored man and the white man, in reference to the governments of this country. [Report hereafter.]

Mr C B Sedgwick then followed in a speech of nearly an hour, in which he maintained that political action was the true ground—that there was nothing in the language of the Constitution which necessarily encourages or supports Slavery—that the Constitution is to be interpreted, so far as relates to this question of rights, according to its letter, and not according to the intentions of its framers—and many other leading positions. [Report hereafter.]

Mr. J. C. Jackson followed in a few remarks upon the ballot. [Speech with the others.]

Mr. Burleigh then took the floor, in reply to Mr Sedgwick. Of this we have not a word to say, further than that it was at once one of the ablest and most finished efforts of the Convention. [It will be given with the speeches of Remond, Sedgwick, and Jackson, in the course of next week. The reader will find them a very eloquent, argumentative and able summing up.—Rep.]

Mr Burleigh offered the following resolution as a substitute for the resolution offered by Mr. Pillsbury, and then pending before the Convention;

Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery Society, being based upon right principles, and having a plan of operation wisely adapted to the work of abolishing Slavery and a platform on which all who wish to help in that work, whatever be their political or religious creed, can freely and efficiently act for the accomplishment of the common object of them all; it is worthy of their united support and co-operation, and to give it such support and co-operation is to make the most economical and effective use which they can make, of their Anti-Slavery energy and resources.

Mr. C. A. Wheaton, (Mr. Burleigh having the floor, read the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, we have learned by the developments made during the sittings of this Convention that there exists amongst the advocates of the Anti-Slavery cause a great diversity of opinion as to the best means and instrumentalities to be employed to effect the more important objects aimed at by the advocates:—

"And whereas, criminations and recriminations have been profusely employed, and to the edification of this Convention, and entirely uncalled for, and [illegible] to promote the union and harm any [illegible] exist amongst those who are laboring [illegible] the same result:

"[illegible] every man is responsible for himself [illegible] God and to Society for the sentiments he utters:

"And whereas, no man or set of men has the right to [illegible] human creed or synopsis of *his* views of truth [illegible] on any other man—therefore

"1. Resolved, That it is best for the cause of Liberty that its advocates should cultivate a spirit of toleration and that charity which thinketh no evil, but hopeth all things, endureth all things, believeth all things, but such things as are in manifest violation of the equal rights of all men.

"2. Resolved, That it is the duty of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of the Liberty Party, from this time forth—and forever—to cease their warfare upon each other, and go on in peace and good-will—forgetting all things that are behind, and pressing forward with united zeal for the redemption of the slave."

At the conclusion of Mr. Burleigh's speech, the question was taken on Mr. Burleigh's substitute for Mr. Pillsbury's resolution—and it was adopted by a very decided vote.

The question was then called for on Mr. Wheaton's preamble and resolutions.

Mr. Foster said it had not been received by the Convention. He raised the question of reception.

The resolution was received.

Mr. Foster would raise a question on its adoption. He did not think it proper to pass upon such a resolution, introduced at the heel of a convention, (it was past 12 o'clock) without any opportunity for consideration or discussion. With his consent, this should not be done. This Convention was called by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and nearly all its officers were members of that society. The impression would go out—no matter how unfounded in fact—that that Society was responsible for resolutions adopted here.

This consideration was sufficient, he thought, to control the action of every fair minded man—and such a man, in his cooler moments, he knew the author of the resolution to be.

He hardly knew what the resolution expressed—he cared but little—as this was no time for the introduction of any proposition, not merely formal in its character. He always liked to examine a proposition before acting upon it, and he always should, when in his power to do so. If the Convention wished to hold over another day, or to stay there till morning, he was ready. But the resolution could not be adopted that night, without the yeas and nays which he demanded.

Several gentlemen suggested that the American Society could not be responsible—as the Convention was composed of any body and every body who professed to be opposed to Slavery.

The President said he would make a public communication to that effect, if necessary.

Mr. Foster said that was all very well: but the *avoidance* of unnecessary confusion or misapprehension in reference to the proceedings, was far better—and he knew this would be desired by all honorable men.

[There was, at times, some confusion and excitement, and from some of the audience, clamorous calls for the question; but upon an appeal from the President, order was restored and the best spirit was manifested.]

Finally, by almost unanimous consent—only a half dozen dissenting—the convention and audience directed the resolution to be withdrawn—which was done.

Whereupon, the Convention adjourned, the members and the audience exhibiting very kind feelings.

[The collections and contributions at the Convention amounted to $84.87 1 2 cents.]

MR. GARRISON'S LETTER.

The following letter addressed by William Lloyd Garrison, to Rev. S. J. May, was read to the Convention, and as will be recollected, on motion of Gerrit Smith, ordered to be published:

Boston, Jan. 13, 1850.

My Dear Friend.—Among the obstacles interposing to prevent my attendance at the Anti-Slavery Convention in Syracuse, on Tuesday next, is bodily indisposition. It is worth going the long distance to see *you*, personally—you, for whom I entertain the most ardent friendship, and highest esteem—you, who were among the first in Boston, nearly twenty years ago, to give me strengthening words of encouragement and open countenance, at that time of unspeakable value—you, who have never been ashamed to avow, nor afraid to defend, the sacred principles which lie at the basis of the Anti-Slavery cause—as well as to commune with the other choice spirits, who are to be present at Freedom's gathering in your city this week. Happily, where so many able advocates of the slave are to congregate, my presence is of no consequence whatever. That the occasion will be one of transcendent interest, and of no ordinary importance at this great crisis, I feel certain; and that the proceedings will be characterized by the boldest enunciation of truth, the most radical avowal of sentiment, the most earnest inculcation of duty, I will not entertain a doubt. In a struggle like ours, nothing is gained by indirectness of assault, or circumlocution of language.—Like the apostles of old, we must use 'great plainness of speech;' like the reformers of all ages, we must call things by their right names; like Jesus, we must be willing to make ourselves of no reputation, as without conflict, there can be no victory—without the cross, no crown.

The existence of Slavery in this country, in the seventy-fourth year of our national independence, is the most inexcusable of crimes. For a people, holding it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, to be literally trafficking in the bodies and souls of millions of the human race, and bending all their energies to perpetuate this terrible system, is the most extraordinary paradox in the records of human depravity. Their case admits of no extenuation, of no apology; they are condemned out of their own mouths (in the emphatic language of O'Connell,) as "the greatest of liars and the vilest of hypocrites." Truly, "their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood." But their guilt is intensely aggravated by their claiming to be a Christian people—believers in Him who came to be the Redeemer and Saviour of men, not their enslaver—to preach deliverance to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." It is enough to send a shudder throughout the universe When I think of what Slavery is—the extinction of every virtue, the nourishment of every vice—the abrogation of all holy precepts and divine commands the exaltation of the slave-master above the living God, the overthrow of the sacred institution of marriage, the merciless and systematic robbery of the poor and needy, the extinction of mind and the ruin of the soul—its yokes and fetters, its whips and bloodhounds, its thumb-screws and branding irons—and that this heathenish and frightful system is upheld and defended, in whole or in part by all the leading religious and political influences in the land—by Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and other sects—by Whigs, Democrats and (at least so far as the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution are concerned) even Free Soilers—I feel how utterly impotent is language to describe the sins of the American people. Every eulogy they pronounce upon liberty is a sentence of condemnation upon themselves; every denunciation of tyranny that falls from their lips is a woe invoked upon their own heads; every celebration of their own deliverance from bondage is public demonstration to the world of their unparalleled ingratitude and duplicity.

I know of no other method of putting down Slavery, (a bloody insurrection out of the question,) except by making slaveholding, in all cases, a most despicable and wicked act. The affirmation must be, without respect of persons—EVERY SLAVEHOLDER IS A MAN STEALER—and he must be put on a level with the basest of men. The church that will receive him as a Christian brother, must be excommunicated as heretical in the worst sense. The government that is framed to accommodate his tyranny, and that accords to him power in proportion to the number of his victims, ceases to deserve allegiance, and must be overthrown. There must be no union with slaveholders religiously or politically. It seems to me impossible to utter a plainer proposition. On the part of the South, the condition of union has been and is, that we of the North shall give absolute protection and encouragement to the slave system to this hour, that condition has been complied with; a refusal to comply with it dissolves the union inevitably and necessarily. The time has come to preach disunion, on the highest moral and religious grounds. The Constitution of the United States, is a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." In the name of God, of Christ, of Humanity, of Liberty, it must be denounced and repudiated by all who revere God, love Christ, regard Humanity, and cherish Liberty. It remains to be seen how the people of the North will meet this issue As for the vaporing of the South about a separation, in case the Wilmot Proviso is passed, (in any case, I am inclined to believe,) it is empty as the whistling wind—"full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." The South knows that the dissolution of the Union will be the abolition of Slavery: and her threats are only to intimidate Northern cowardice and servility. I am for the abolition of Slavery, therefore for the dissolution of the Union.

Yours, uncompromisingly,
for Freedom,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Samuel J. May.

From The Liberator.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held at Faneuil Hall, commencing on Wednesday, January 23, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Francis Jackson, of Boston.

Samuel May, Jr., of Boston, and Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem, were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of Edmund Quincy, it was

Voted, That a Committee on Business be nominated from the chair The following persons were nominated and chosen:—William L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Charles F. Hovey, Lucy Stone, Anne W. Weston.

Subsequently, on motion of E. Quincy, Sydney H. Gay of New York, and J. Miller McKim of Philadelphia, were added to the Business Committee.

On motion of S. May, Jr., the following persons were nominated a Committee of Finance, and chosen:—Jas. N. Buffum, Lewis Ford, Joshua T. Everett, and Nathaniel B. Spooner. On account of Mr. Buffum's absence, Elbridge Sprague was afterwards added to this Committee.

The Treasurer, Samuel Philbrick, presented his Annual Report, together with the Auditor's Report on the same. [It will be given next week.]

Voted, That the Report be accepted, and printed with the proceedings of the annual meeting.

Voted, On motion of W. Phillips, That the Report of the Board of Managers be now heard.

Accordingly, copious extracts from the Report were read by Edmund Quincy. After which, the Society adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting was called to order at quarter before 3 o'clock, and the proceedings were introduced by an Anti-Slavery song from a volunteer choir, as was the case with nearly every subsequent session.

The President, on motion, appointed the following persons a Committee to report a list of officers of the Society for the ensuing year:—Edmund Quincy, Bourne Spooner, William Ashby, Joshua T. Everett, John T. Hilton, Elias Richards, John Bailey, E. W. Twing.

Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That surprised as we are at the simplicity of the Northern press and Northern members of Congress, in urging so incessantly upon Southern Disunionists that their course will defeat their objects, since in the Union and under the Constitution is the only security for the permanence and quiet enjoyment of slave property, we are still more disgusted at the unblushing impudence with which these same editors and politicians rise from their servile knees to ask of the Abolitionists the support of that very Instrument which they have just proved to be the corner stone of bondage, and a comfort to the oppressor.

2. Resolved, That we look upon it as one source of rejoicing even in the atrocious system of Slavery, that the agitation for its overthrow seems destined to waken to life the torpid conscience of the nation, to quicken its sense of justice, and to recall pure religion to the desecrated temples and whited sepulchres which have so long passed for its shrines.

3. Resolved, That one chief reason why we enter our rebuke against THE CHURCH is, that having so long scattered the seeds of reform, she sits still, now that the fields are white for the harvest; that she disowns the principles which have sprung from her bosom, brands them as infidel, and gathers into her fold those timid sheep, whom she can still govern, lest they be corrupted by the 'running to and fro, and increase of knowledge' which her prophets have foretold; that, claiming to have on the breastplate of righteousness she refuses to have anything to do with the battle; claiming to hold the sword of the Spirit, she keeps it nicely sheathed, while other men contend for the faith once delivered to the saints; and in view of these facts, we pronounce her claim to be the Church of Christ an idle blasphemy.

4. Resolved, That, in view of the Anti-Slavery progress of the past year, it must be matter of surprise to all coming time, that in a nation sprung from English and Puritan ancestry, the political arena should be the first to awaken to its duty on a great moral question, and that an agitation like that of Anti-Slavery should owe its progress and success far more to the forum than the pulpit, to the selfish broils and time-serving motions at Washington, than to those who assume to fill the pulpits of Cooper and Mayhew, and to teach the Gospel of Christ.

5 Resolved, that we look on the present session of Congress as the most useful since the organization of the Government, and consider its character the result not only of the virtue and independence of a few leading minds there, but of that awakened public opinion of the free States, of which Washington is but the echo: and this conviction gives fresh animation to the zeal with which we set ourselves again to the work of re-educating a corrupt and besotted people.

6. Resolved, That we seek a dissolution of this Union, first as a measure of individual duty to cease from sustaining a great evil; secondly, to secure free action and expression for that degree of Anti-Slavery feeling which even now exists in the nation, and which is either soothed by the pride, cajoled by the professions, or intimidated by the power of the great national parties and sects; thirdly, by abstaining from all guarantees to the master to leave the balance even between the two races; fourthly, to bring closer to the Southern conscience the indignation and moral rebuke of the age, now confused and restrained by a fusion of these States; and lastly, to bring to bear on the institution of Slavery those principles of the relative value of free and slave labor, of the unchangeable connection of national prosperity with popular progress and the elevation of the masses, which has swept chattelism from Europe, and will put an end to it here whenever the breakwater of this Union, which now shields the South from their reach, is removed.

7 Resolved, That in the lamented death of David Ruggles, we mourn the loss of an early, active sagacious persevering friend of the Anti-Slavery cause—of one whose professional ability makes his decease a public loss, and whose position and success were doing much to weaken the cruel prejudice against color—of one whose career proves the power of individual intellect and energy in making their way under the most trying disadvantages of race and position, and of personal infirmity and ill-health; and that we commend the conduct and character of Dr. Ruggles to the study of a pro-slavery community, as evidence of the vigor of a race borne down by so many burdens, and to our colored friends as a model, the imitation of which cannot fail to secure their elevation and improvement.

Parker Pillsbury spoke to the first resolution, and made some very forcible and instructive remarks on the duties of Abolitionists at home, and in their daily intercourse with those around them.

Edmund Quincy followed in an able speech. The following outline of it we take from the *Boston Evening Traveller*:

He thought there was no reason why Abolitionists should despond. Who should be proud, if not Abolitionists? What class of men has made such an impression upon the community? Has not the system of religious revivals nearly gone into decay? This is the triumph of the abolition agitation; not real religion, but that religion which passes by on the other side, the sufferers of this world. Ever since, he said, we have undertaken to maintain Slavery as a nation, our religion has declined. In the days previous to the entering of Massachusetts into the compact which bound her to support Slavery, there was not a pro-slavery minister to be found. In those days, fugitive slaves could no more be recovered than a fugitive Hungarian or German now. Unfortunately, our forefathers consented to sell their proud situation for a few paltry commercial advantages obtained by the Union of the States; and, since that, religion has declined, because, since then, religious societies have been trying to get rid of the *question*, not to abolish the *system*. The spirit of the pulpit in the times of the Revolution was right. What is it now? Why, that they recognize the legal right of the master to his slaves, and that nothing should be done to disturb the peace of the States. The men of the Revolution were not afraid to disturb the peace of the States by their own or the cannon's mouth. Abolitionists are not numerous, nor probably ever will be, but there are enough to keep an everlasting protest against Slavery. Our business is to continually ring the bell, and be showing up the rottenness of the system; that in consequence of it, there is less religion and less love of liberty than when the country was under the rule of George the Third. We have been doing this for twenty years: then there was but one man in favor of immediate emancipation: and how many are there now?—Then it was deemed monstrous to call the slaveholders who came here from the South, thieves, to be classed with those who, in parti-colored garments, hammer stone upon the opposite side of the river; now millions believe in emancipation. Twenty years ago, several escaped slaves were confined in our jail at one time, and a coffle of slaves, manacled together, has been, I am told, marched through State street, as is now done at Washington. Now the money power of Boston, though not the highest exponent of liberty would rise up against such a degradation—aye, even the *living stones* of State street would cry out; and now, also, there is one place in our city that is sacred to liberty, and that is our common Jail. We have done something in twenty years if we have made the Jail a temple of liberty; if this Hall is not altogether free, the Jail is. Some slaves have been carried back within twenty years, but they have been kidnapped, and those who did it are liable to go to the State Prison.

Who has effected this great change in public sentiment, but William Lloyd Garrison and those he has collected around him—Phillips, Douglas, Remond? It was this man who, in 1831, with twelve others, met in an old school house, and formed the first Society in favor of immediate emancipation; we as yet see only the budding blossom of this action; it is destined to be the true deliverer of the nation from that sin which has made us a hissing and a by-word among nations.

There has been, he said, an attempt during the past year to prevent Slavery going any further; to keep it where it is. John P. Hale, the great Free Soil champion, was willing to keep Slavery within its present limits, but to protect and uphold it there. The feeling which brought forth the Free Soil party was the result of the agitation of the Abolitionists; they are the men who have caused all the present effervescence upon the Slavery question, and though the Free Soil party will die, all that is good in it will live and be felt in the Councils of the Nation; its members will in time reach the right path. The great *ignis fatuus* with them, and with the people, has been the Constitution of the United States. One would think that this Constitution was a perfect Palladium of Troy, a Golden Shield of Rome.—But some of us have seen the men who made it; some were good men, some bad men, and a great many indifferent. Without the Union, we should have been a Confederation of powerful States, and Slavery would have disappeared at the South as well as at the North.

The South has gained everything by the Union:—Though in a large minority, she has an equal representation in the Senate and more than a pro rata representation in the House: her sons swarm the Navy and the Army, to the exclusion of other portions of the Union; and during the whole period of our national existence, save twelve years and one month, she has filled the Presidential chair. In fact, we have bound ourselves in a gordian knot, and some Alexander must be found to cut it and set us free.

Wendell Phillips referred to the fact that Henry B. Stanton, once deemed a very model of Anti-Slavery fidelity, but who had in 1840 turned his back upon his old friends and fellow-workers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, having given himself up to politics, has been lately found voting, as a member of the New York Senate, *to lay an Anti-Slavery resolution on the table*. In view of such an example of the moral decline of a deserter, he saw no reason to be either ashamed or discouraged at the attitude in which the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society stands to-day.

EVENING SESSION.

The Society re-assembled in Faneuil Hall, the President in the Chair. The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

Samuel May, Jr. supported the 5th resolution, referring to the present session of Congress as one of the most useful ever held, and said that he coincided in the sentiment of that resolution most heartily. For we have seen, he said, for the first time, any considerable body of men facing the South, and determined to make no compromise with them.

The genius of the South quailed before that united few, though the North and South united to sweep them away. It looked hopeful to see this; it seemed as if the strength of the Northern man was coming back to his sinews and his bones. Is this nothing to rejoice at? What course will the slaveholder now pursue? The last news from Washington is, that Mr. Clay is bending the force of his powerful mind to see how the matter can be *compromised*; to see if he can make the power of this great land bow down before the Moloch of Slavery. This is the way the rising spirit of freedom in the North is to be bound. We must meet the compromise with the denunciation it deserves. We must hold up to the scorn and indignation it merits, the *compromising* spirit with wrong which prevails through the land, and which has been the chief characteristic of the whole political life of that truly *American* statesman, Henry Clay. And indeed the Constitution of the country, itself a compromise with the most gigantic wickedness, compels all who support it to be compromisers—to be partners with thieves and adulterers, and partakers in their unhallowed work.

No man can swear faith to the Constitution, black as it is with compromises, without being so corrupted and palsied in his moral sense as to be unable to do the work of a freeman. Let us then, he said, seek its dissolution, and go forth from the disgraceful and disgusting partnership, which finds no parallel on the uncivilized earth; let us come out, if Massachusetts stands alone.

Robert Edmond, a Scotch gentleman, said he would like very briefly to describe to the audience the treatment he had received in South Carolina for endeavoring to elevate the character of the slave population, and teaching some slaves to read. He had gone to South Carolina as a baker, but had been so shocked with the low intellectual and moral condition of the slaves and colored people, that he thought he would attempt something for their benefit. On one occasion, while teaching some slaves to read, a band of men, disguised, came to his school-house dragged him a mile or more, and there stripped him of his clothes, and covered him with a coat of tar and feathers, and then ordered him, on peril of his life, to leave the State without delay. Mr. Edmond expressed the astonishment he had felt, on coming to the North, and visiting different towns and villages for the purpose of telling his story, to find how much indifference exists with regard to the slave's wrongs and sufferings, and how strong a feeling there is, on the other hand, in the slaveholder's behalf. He said he had been nearly discouraged at what he had experienced and seen in the United States, though he thought the people of his own land would hardly credit the story he must tell on his return.

Parker Pillsbury followed. He commented on the statements of Mr. Edmond, and upon our 'glorious union' with the men who committed that mean and dastardly attack upon him. The garb in which their cowardly hands had clothed him was indeed to him a 'robe of righteousness,' of which Mr. E. would never have reason to be ashamed.

Mr. P. then contrasted, with this treatment of Mr. Edmond, the treatment which Southern men usually receive at the North. He referred to the adulation with which the *Boston Atlas* recently noticed the arrival in this city of Governor Morehead of North Carolina.—Mr. Pillsbury then referred to the late letter of Father Mathew to Judge Lumpkin, of Georgia, read that letter, with all its honied and complimentary phrase, and rebuked the servile course which the *Apostle of Temperance* (!) is pursuing in the slaveholding States.

Wendell Phillips took the case of Mr. Edmond as a text for an able and eloquent speech, in which he portrayed the degrading effects of our slaveholding alliance.

Adjourned to Thursday, 10 o'clock A. M.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24.

The Society again met in Faneuil Hall, the President in the Chair. The Secretary read the first resolution

Daniel J. Whitney, of Hopedale, spoke in support of the resolutions before the meeting, enlarging upon the compromises with Slavery in the United States Constitution. Thomas Haskell, of Gloucester, also spoke to the resolutions.

The Finance Committee reported the following resolution for adoption:—

'Resolved, That the members of this Society, and other persons in attendance, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar, or such sum, either more or less, as they may think right, for the purpose of defraying the necessary expenses of the meeting.'

They also gave notice that copies of the Annual Report would be ready for distribution in the afternoon, and that each person contributing to the expenses of the meeting would be entitled to a copy

The resolution was adopted.

Some remarks were made, especially on the resolution relative to David Ruggles, by Wendell Phillips and John M. Spear, and that resolution (No. 7) was unanimously adopted.

Parker Pillsbury continued the discussion on the resolutions, alluding to a recent attack, in the Washington Union, on the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, on account of the Petition it is circulating in favor of Secession from the Union. He spoke of the doubtful and hesitating manner in which the Free Soil party had managed its own affairs; witness the *seven* trials in Middlesex District to elect a member of Congress, in every one of which the Free Soil party has been steadily losing ground, whereas, if they had agitated the District faithfully and fearlessly, they might have completely triumphed long since. Mr. Pillsbury also spoke of the effect of the Anti-Slavery agitation, wherever thoroughly carried, in unmasking priestly manœuvring, and in suppressing those delusive excitements called *religious revivals*, in which it is only the pro-slavery religion of this guilty land which meets with any revival.

Wendell Phillips and Parker Pillsbury further continued the discussion on the position and character of the Free Soil Party. The latter drew a striking contrast between the regard for liberty manifested in this country and in Turkey, (!) where, according to Lieutenant Lynch, when President Polk sent on an expedition to the Dead Sea, (with a view, as was suggested, to *the annexation of Sodom and Gomorrah to this Republic*,) a law of the Ottoman Empire forbids any man to be held in Slavery for a period exceeding seven years, and where there is 'no prejudice founded on distinction of color;' and the fact is stated that the present Governor of the Dardanelles is a black man, and was recently a slave.

William A. White rose, he said, to bear his testimony in favor of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, with its kindred societies, as the only organization in the land; and therefore, said he, I honor the Society, and belong to it. But he did not agree that the Free Soil party is, as Mr. Pillsbury said, the worst of the three, and that it is more to be feared than that of the other two. He undertook a defence of that party.

Adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met pursuant to adjournment, the President in the Chair. Copies of the Annual Report were distributed.

B. W. F. Millen addressed the Society, and presented certain resolutions as substitutes for those before the meeting. Not being seconded, they were laid on the table.

Charles List, Esq., of Boston, a member of the Free Soil party, spoke warmly and eloquently in defence of that party, and of his own course in joining with it. He claimed for it an Anti-Slavery character, and that much good had resulted from its labors He declared himself a believer in expediency as well as in principle; and said he found himself unable to act always on principle, (as he would be glad to do,) but that he must, in many cases, be governed by expediency.

Edmund Quincy presented the following resolution:—

'Resolved, That every one who regards himself an Abolitionist is urgently requested to pledge all that he can give, all he can collect, and all he deems it certain his town or society will give, to sustain this Society in carrying on a series of Conventions within this Commonwealth, to rouse its citizens to their duty to the slave.'

This, after some remarks in its support, was unanimously adopted.

Parker Pillsbury made a very able reply to Mr. List, and especially to the claim he had set up, that the Free Soil party is the party of *progress*. What kind of progress is that, he asked, which goes, in its list of Presidential candidates, from James G. Birney, a repentant slaveholder, and long a most efficient laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause, back to John P. Hale, a man who openly, in the Senate, declares himself ready to fulfil all the Constitutional guaranties to Slavery, and to shed his heart's best blood rather than not fulfil them: and, again, from John P. Hale back to Martin Van Buren, the cunning and inveterate foe of Anti-Slavery, the man who, in 1840, pledged himself, if elected to the Presidency, to *veto* any bill for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia? This is *progress*, with a vengeance!

Samuel May, Jr., with leave, stated to the audience the case of Alex. Asher, a fugitive slave from Cuba, recently arrived in this city, by the way of Nova Scotia. The case elicited much sympathy, and several persons pledged themselves to aid him and find employment, and the needful aid meanwhile.

Adjourned to the evening, 7 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, Edmund Quincy, a Vice President, in the Chair.

Samuel May, Jr., said though neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, he would venture to say, the time was not far distant when it would be regarded as one of the greatest glories of Faneuil Hall, one of the best and most appropiate uses to which it had ever been put, that it had been the place where, in successive years, the fugitive slave, man and woman, successfully escaping from every part of the Southern States, had come, and had received a hearty and most cheering welcome. Last year, we had William and Ellen Craft, from Georgia, and Henry Box Brown, of Virginia. To-night we have with us a young slave girl, who, in the very midst of the present winter, left her home in North Carolina, left even her little child, and fled from the sufferings and terrible outrages to which she had been subjected, to a Northern climate and a land of strangers Having accidentally learned that, on the day following, a vessel was to sail for Boston from the town where she lived, (Wilmington,) she determined to put in execution a plan of escape she had long been forming In the darkness of night, she got, unseen, on board the vessel, and secreted herself in a dark and narrow hole, used for the stowing away of cordage—having provided herself with a bag of bread and a bottle or two of water. There she lay *four weeks*; for, on account of head winds, the vessel did not get to sea for a week or more, and then had a rough passage. Three or four days before arriving at Boston, she was discovered in her hiding-place by the mate. He learned who she was, and generously supplied her with refreshments. He told no one of her being on board, and on reaching Boston helped her to find a temporary home. It has been said that the mate was knowing to her escape; but she avers that neither he nor any one else knew of her being in the vessel until just before reaching Boston. Such had been her sufferings in her damp, dark and confined position, that she could scarcely stand upright on going ashore, and her feet were found to be badly frost-bitten. The girl was the slave of George W. Davis, of Wilmington, who, though an American, is British Consul for that port, and by whom she has been most brutally and basely treated, as she declares.

Thomas Jones, himself a recent fugitive from Wilmington, North Carolina, a man 44 years of age, said that he knew the slave girl (Betsy Blakely) well, and had known her from infancy; and if he should tell what wrongs and sufferings she had had to endure from her owner, those present would hardly bear to hear them. Jones gave a brief but very spirited account of his own experience in Slavery.

Lucy Stone came forward, took the slave girl by the hand, welcomed her to our midst, and appealed to the audience against that Union and Constitution which had subjected her younger sister to such awful suffering and violence, and which to-night held hundreds of thousands like her in a like position of degradation and misery.

The President having taken the chair,

Edmund Quincy said, that the Abolitionists came into Faneuil Hall once a year, to perform a sort of lustration, or purification, after the various political harrangues and glorifications of the year preceding. On this platform has Daniel Webster stood, and glorified the Constitution of the United States. But, said Mr. Quincy, HERE, *in this young woman*, who has fled for life and liberty from North Carolina, and is not safe from her pursuers even in Faneuil Hall, you see *the true expounder of the Constitution!* Last year, as Lucy Stone has reminded you, when William and Ellen Craft stood here, just escaped from Slavery, you were asked in this hall, and from this place, if you would help return them to their *owners*, in Georgia. And one loud, prolonged NO was your answer! I will, if you please, put the question to you again:—As many of you as will help give back this young woman, for whom her master offers $600, will say, *Aye*. [In the crowded hall not one voice said, *Aye*.] As many of you as will refuse to give up this woman will say *No!* [And from every part of the hall, as with one accord, came the unanimous NO.]

Now, said Mr. Quincy, what did you mean by that? How many of you, who have just uttered that No, have, within the past year, sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, either directly, or through those you have chosen to represent you, and to take the oath in your name? By the very terms of the Constitution, Massachusetts and all her citizens (who have not repudiated allegiance to the Federal Government) are held and bound to do that very thing which every man in Faneuil Hall to-night has declared HE WILL NOT DO. And are you going to be perjured men? Will you continue to support a Constitution which requires acts of you, against which every dictate of your consciences and every sentiment of your nature rebels? Or will you, true to conscience and faithful to God and his laws, renounce your allegiance to that slave-trading Constitution, and conspire by every righteous means for the dissolution of the government founded upon it? If not, where do you stand? What but empty sounds are the shouts and responses you have given to-night? What is your professed sympathy for the outraged slave, when the whole force of your influence and example is thrown into the scale of his oppressor?

Mr. Quincy addressed himself to the Free-Soilers, reminded them of the manner in which their friend, the Hon. Samuel Hoar, had been ejected from South Carolina, and, said he, If you cannot, or will not, come up to our ground of '*No Union with Slaveholders*,' I call on you to show at least as much spirit as did South Carolina; meet her on her own ground and with her own weapons. When the fugitive slave comes to Massachusetts, demand that he or she, instead of hiding away in secret, shall be openly carried into the State-house, there to receive the congratulations of the Governor and the assembled Legislature; and when the slaveholder comes here, on his base slave-hunting business, shut him up in the common jail; and if he repeats his visit, make it a State-prison offence for life. This (to the Free Soilers) you are bound to do, in consistency with your position as men of Massachusetts acting under the General Government. But there is higher ground than this mere retaliation. And it is to this higher ground we summon you—yes, all of you, every man, every woman, every child of Massachusetts—namely, to cease from all support of Slavery, to repudiate the Constitution which requires it of you, and to take for your living, practical motto, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'

[Mr. Quincy's speech, (which with many others, ought to be reported in full), though it met with little favor from some in the hall, and evidently made them wince a good deal, was yet received with constant applause, and evidently took good effect.]

Mr. Quincy was followed by

Wendell Phillips in a speech of great power, which appealed to every just, every kind and generous sentiment of the heart. He made the case of the slave girl (who sat at the side of the President throughout) his theme, and well did he illustrate by it the nature of our Federal Union with the fifteen slaveholding States. But we can give no report, not an outline, even.

Edmund Quincy offered the following resolution:—

8. Resolved, That the Board of Managers of this Society be instructed, in its name and on its behalf, to memorialize the British Government, representing the case and conduct of George Washington Davis, her Majesty's Consul for Wilmington, N. C., in relation to American Slavery, and requesting his removal from that office as an act demanded by the spirit of Civilization, the voice of Humanity, and the dignity of the Empire.

The resolution was adopted with only one dissenting voice.

Adjourned to Friday, 10 o'clock, A. M.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25.

The Society met again in Faneuil Hall, the President in the chair

The Secretary again read the Resolutions before the Society.

Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolution:—

9. Resolved, That we record with sadness the total want of consistency of conduct, frankness, and independence on the part of Father Mathew in relation to Slavery; that every one must see his servile and fawning letter to Judge Lumpkin sets the seal to all we inferred or feared from his interview with Mr. Garrison; and that if any one then thought our language severe and exaggerated, such must acknowledge now that his 'rising genius has sinned up to our song;' and that though we confess that American Slavery, covered with the blood of a hundred battles, and the cypress of as many victories, has never achieved a more palpable and disgraceful one than when she chained the illustrious Father to her car, still we rejoice to know that when he sacrificed his convictions to selfish ease and spurious Temperance, he flung away the love and confidence of millions; that the prospects of the system of human bondage are so dark, that the brightest fame is eclipsed when it sinks into the night of that embrace; and that the timid and recreant Apostle of one Reform lies shorn of all his influence in the lap of his Delilah.

Rev. John L. Russell, of Hingham, addressed the Society, pointing out the reasons which the Abolitionists have for encouragement and for persevering in the work which, through their instrumentality, has been hitherto so successfully carried forward.

J. Miller McKim, of Philadelphia, spoke at considerable length, and with much earnestness and effect He spoke of the high satisfaction he had experienced in our meetings, and especially in the meeting of the previous evening: and then went into a careful examination of the character of the Free Soil party. He showed that a separate political party was needless to accomplish Anti-Slavery work, and pointed out the successive steps which had been taken, and triumph won, in Pennsylvania, without the intervention of any political party, but *to* which both the great parties had been compelled, by the Anti-Slavery feeling in the people, to contribute. We regret our inability to give a full report of Mr. McKim's address.

Parker Pillsbury offered the following Resolution:

10. Resolved, That if anything be wanting to perfect this nation's character as the most gigantic and unblushing hypocrite that ever deserved the universal execration of the world, it is most abundantly supplied in the *pretended* sympathy for the fallen Hungarians, now so disgustingly poured forth from the unhallowed lips of Zachary Taylor, Lewis Cass, Daniel Webster, and other representatives of this nation, whose tyrannies and crimes are unparalleled in the history of all the Austrias and Russias of the Old World; and we cannot but believe, that if Hungary knows no more of true Liberty than to ask or accept the sympathies of such overgrown tyrants, she had far better return to her allegiance to Austria, until a longer submission shall have better fitted her for its enjoyment.

Samuel May, Jr., offered the following:—

11. Resolved, That, admiring the fearlessness, the fidelity to principle, and the just discernment of Slavery's true nature and its chief strongholds, manifested by that great Convention of Ohio's sons and daughters, assembled in September last at Berlin, in that State, we, the members and friends of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, assembled in Faneuil Hall, do cordially respond to their words and say with them, 'with full confidence in the integrity of our purpose and the justice of our cause, WE DO HEREBY DECLARE OURSELVES ENEMIES OF THE CONSTITUTION, UNION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, and the friends of a New Confederacy of States, where there shall be NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, *but where there shall ever be* FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR, AND FREE MEN. And we proclaim it as *our unalterable purpose and determination* to live and labor for a Dissolution of the present Union by all LAWFUL and JUST, though BLOODLESS and PACIFIC MEANS, and for the formation of a NEW REPUBLIC, that shall be such, not only in name, but in full, living reality and truth. And we do hereby invite and entreat all our fellow-citizens, and the friends of Justice, Humanity and true Liberty throughout the Northern States, to unite with us in laboring for so glorious an object.'

This resolution was sustained by Mr. Pillsbury.

The Committee on the nomination of Officers of the Society reported the following list; their Report was unanimously accepted, and the following named persons elected Officers for the year ensuing:—

President.—Francis Jackson, Boston.

Vice Presidents—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Stillman Lothrop, Cambridge; Amos Farnsworth, Groton; Adin Ballou, Milford; John M. Fisk, West Brookfield; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Effingham L. Capron, Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield: William B. Earle, Leicester; William B. Stone, Gardner; Oliver Gardner, Nantucket; Nathan Webster, Haverhill; Henry I. Bowditch Boston; George Hoyt, Athol; John C. Gore, Roxbury; Caroline Weston, Weymouth; Benjamin Snow, Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Cyrus Pierce, Newton; John T. Hilton, Cambridgeport; Thomas T. Stone, Salem; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Charles F. Hovey, Boston; J. S. Stafford, Cummington.

Corresponding Secretary—Edmund Quincy, Dedham.

Recording Secretary—Robert F. Wallcut, Boston.

Treasurer—Samuel Philbrick.

Auditor—Edmund Jackson.

Counsellors—Wiliam Lloyd Garrison, Maria Weston Chapman, Cornelius Bramhall, Eliza Lee Follen, Charles K. Whipple, Samuel May, Jr., Wendell Phillips, John Rogers, Anne W. Weston, John M. Spear, James Russell Lowell, William I. Bowditch.

Adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The President in the Chair.

The question being on the adoption of the resolutions before the meeting, the meeting was addressed by D. S. Whitney, of Hopedale.

Lewis Ford, of Abington, in some judicious and earnest remarks, presented to the meeting the question of funds, and urged a generous contribution to the Society. Edmund Quincy continued the appeal and enforced the previous remarks.

Rev. Theodore Parker came forward, and was received with warm applause. He spoke of the encouraging signs of the times, and expressed a difference of opinion from some of the speakers with regard to the character of the Free Soil party.

Wendell Phillips replied to Mr. Parker, and vindicated the course of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society towards the Free Soil party.

[We hope to give the remarks of both these gentlemen, written out by themselves, next week.]

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's remarks, the Society adjourned to 7 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

Meeting called to order by the President, and an Anti-Slavery ode sung.

Thomas Jones, (once a slave in Wilmington, N. C.,) again addressed the meeting. He said he had often heard that William Lloyd Garrison and his friends talked against religion. But since he had heard and known them for himself, he found it was not so. He found Mr. Garrison teaching a religion which inculcated love to God and love to man. He thought Mr. Garrison had got the best church he knew of anywhere. Mr. Garrison and *his church* had taken compassion on the poor, ignorant and degraded slave, and remembered him in his bonds, in his sufferings, in his hunger, in his thirst, and had shown their love for God, whom they have not seen, by loving their brother whom they have seen. I was a preacher to my people, said T. Jones, and I don't like to say too much against my brethren of the clergy, but the truth must be told, and it is true that the churches almost everywhere have shut their doors against the slave and his cause, and gone into union with their oppressors. Now I call upon all of you who profess Christianity to show your religion by loving your brethren in bonds.

William Lloyd Garrison then came upon the platform. [It was the first time Mr. Garrison had spoken, having been kept by illness from the previous meetings, and he was greeted with hearty cheers.]

At the close of your glorious Anti-Slavery campaign in Faneuil Hall, he said, I present myself before you, not as I should like to do, but as I can—in a crippled condition; yet not crippled by any of the darts of pro-slavery, for none of them have ever reached me; crippled as to bodily health, [Mr. G. then labored under a spinal difficulty,] but still having *a good back bone* to my Anti-Slavery. I admire, and would imitate, the example of that indomitable combatant, of whom it is recorded that, after the amputation of his legs 'he fought upon his stumps.'

Pleasantry aside—I feel that, after you have had before you a fugitive slave to rehearse in your ears the story of his wrongs and sufferings, and to plead for the deliverance of the millions who are still groaning in bondage, it would be presumptuous for any other person to follow him, whatever might be the power of his logic or the force of his eloquence, with the expectation of deepening the impression already made upon your hearts. A chattelized human being is the best advocate of his own cause, however broken his dialect.

As to the encomiums so profusely bestowed upon me by the fugitive friend who has just sat down, I accept them from that quarter as coming from a sincere and grateful heart. But if any are apprehensive that I may get 'exalted above measure' by such flattering allusions, let them remember the exhaustless stream of abuse and misrepresentation that is constantly poured upon my head. To keep an even balance on this occasion, I will present the other side of the picture. A few days since, I went to Portland to deliver an Anti-Slavery lecture. A friend of mine, in that city, anxious that a certain member of the Orthodox church should hear it, invited him to be present. 'If it were in my power,' replied this evangelical professor, 'I would kick William Lloyd Garrison so far beyond hell, that even the devil himself would not be able to find him!' (Laughter.) 'The next time you see that benevolent man,' said I to my friend, 'tell him I am greatly obliged to him for wishing to place me precisely where I ever wish to be—beyond hell, where the devil can never find me—for that surely must be in a heavenly state.' (Shouts of laughter.) I am sorry to say that when this pleasant turn to his inconsiderate speech was communicated to that 'orthodox' brother, instead of touching his magnanimity, he answered with great malignity of feeling, 'I wish I could kick him into *the middle* of hell,' that thus my eternal damnation might be made certain! (Strong sensation throughout the assembly.) So much for compliment and denunciation.

Within the last three or four years, extraordinary pains have been taken throughout the country,—from the occupant of the Presidential chair down to the occupant of the pulpit,—to eulogize the American Union as something worthy to be hallowed to the latest posterity. The cause of this unusual display of regard for that 'covenant with death,' and that 'agreement with hell,' is seen in the significant fact, that Liberty and Humanity are with increasing earnestness and power demanding its immediate dissolution. Among those who have lately come to the rescue of the Union, I am sorry to say, is the gifted poet Longfellow, some of whose best effusions have been in sympathy with the fettered slave (God never yet having given to Slavery) but who has now prostituted his fine genius in praise of that which is crushing the slave population to the earth.

[Mr. Garrison here read the following Apostrophe to the Union, from a volume of Longfellow's Poems, just issued from the press:—

[*Vide* 1st page *Standard*, Jan. 24.]

These lines were read by Mr. Garrison as emphatically as though they were really his own sentiments—thus doing full justice to their artistic skill and beauty—the galleries applauding with special animation.]

If, Mr. Chairman, this tribute were only 'a poet's license,' and so understood—if it implied nothing more than a graceful flight of fancy—it would not challenge criticism: but this was not its design, and will not be its effect on the popular mind. Already it has been published far and wide in the newspapers, and nowhere with more alacrity than at the South. Now, sir, its description of the formation of the Union is not only a poetical extravagance, but absolutely at variance with historical verity. That Union was formed in utter de[g]

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

rogation of all the principles of justice, humanity and righteousness—solely by the immolation of one sixth portion of the population on the altar of Slavery—and through the most guilty compromises. As affirming its real character and present condition, I propose, for the adoption of this Society, the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is with deep regret we perceive that the poet LONGFELLOW has prostituted his fine poetical genius to eulogize the blood-stained American Union as freighted with the hopes and interests of Humanity—as being a noble ship, invulnerable to the rock and proof against the storm, built in the most skilful and workmanlike manner; whereas, the history of its creation and its cruise demonstrates it to have been—

——'a perfidious bark,
Built i' th' eclipse, and rigged with curses dark'—

rotting through all her timbers, leaking from stem to stern, laboring heavily on a storm-tossed sea, surrounded by clouds of disastrous portent, navigated by those whose object is a piratical one, (namely, the extension and perpetuity of Slavery,) and destined to go down, 'full many a fathom deep,' to the joy and exultation of all who are yearning for the deliverance of a groaning world.

[The reading of the resolution elicited much applause mingled with hisses.]

There appears to be some difference of opinion in this assembly, in regard to the resolution just read; but I hold another resolution in my hand, which I will submit to the meeting, and which I am sure will be responded to most enthusiastically. It relates to that peerless orator and distinguished advocate of suffering humanity, GEORGE THOMPSON, of England, (loud applause,) and is as follows:

Resolved, That from Faneuil Hall the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society sends forth its congratulations to GEORGE THOMPSON, representative of the Tower Hamlets in the British Parliament, and the representative of the down-trodden of all nations in the arena of Humanity, at the promise and the prospect of his visiting the United States in the course of the present year—assuring him of a warm and enthusiastic reception on the part of thousands and tens of thousands of the friends of universal emancipation, multitudes of whom have been converted to the cause of the slave since he was driven from these shores by mobocratic violence, and who yearn for the hour to arrive when they may have both the opportunity and the privilege to do honor to the man whom they once, in their blindness or passion, were led to despise or persecute.

['Three cheers for George Thompson,' shouted a venerable friend in the body of the house, and they were given by the large assembly with great enthusiasm. Three additional cheers were given afterwards on the adoption of the resolution. After making some further reference to the services and merits of Mr. Thompson, Mr. Garrison proceeded:]

In the course of your proceedings, Mr. Chairman, congratulations have been offered, very justly, by some of the speakers, in regard to what has been already achieved in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause. Most encouraging indeed has been our success; we have overcome a thousand formidable obstacles, and trodden beneath our feet ten thousand soul-trying difficulties, and vanquished innumerable perils; we have carried one outpost after another of the enemy, till the citadel alone remains to be taken. In proof of this, I will read an extract from a recent editorial article in Bennett's *New York Herald*—a paper bribed to the support of Slavery—a paper which has never yet allowed an Anti-Slavery meeting to be held in the city of New York without grossly caricaturing its proceedings—a paper which has uniformly represented the Abolitionists as an insignificant and contemptible faction. Here what the *Herald* now says!

[The article, for which we have not room in this connection, traces all the difficulties in Congress, and in every legislature, North and South, to 'the Anti-Slavery agitation'—and declares—'The Abolitionists have driven the Whigs and Democrats before them, like slaves under the lash of the whipper-in. * * * All other issues are forgotten. Tariffs, bank, internal improvements, every old issue that has divided parties, is now buried in oblivion, and it is nothing but free soil, Abolition, Anti-Slavery now. What is to be the result of such a state of things? * * * A separation and dissolution of this glorious Union.' For all which, said Mr. Garrison, God be thanked! (Cheers and hisses.)

Mr. Garrison confessed that all this was was a flattering view of the progress of the cause; but as for himself, he felt more inclined to forget the things that are behind, the trials and the triumphs of the past, and to press onward to the mark—the utter extinction of American Slavery. How much remained to be accomplished was seen in the fact, that there was not, after twenty years of persevering effort, one single village in the country, however small its population, that was thoroughly imbued with the Anti-Slavery spirit; that there was not an Anti-Slavery pulpit or church that has a reputable character; and that the leaders in Church and State are still with the oppressor. Onward, then, hand to hand, and heart to heart!

PARKER PILLSBURY took the platform. He read the resolution on American sympathy with Hungary, and proceeded to show how empty and hypocritical it is, especially when coming from slaveholders and their abettors, from Zachary Taylor and Lewis Cass and their like. He read also the address lately made to President Taylor, at Washington, by General Ujhazy, one of the Hungarian exiles, and said if the fulsome and disgusting flattery with which that address is surcharged, is any just exponent of the feelings and ideas of the Hungarians generally, they are utterly unfit for freedom, and well do they merit the defeat and sufferings which have come upon them.

WENDELL PHILLIPS made the closing speech, a most eloquent one, and frequently interrupted by cheers. He reviewed some of the notable events in the history of the Anti-Slavery cause in Boston, from the time when Harrison Gray Otis sneeringly said that he heard that the Abolitionists, in their madness, put the Bible above the Statute-book; he alluded to the time when Peleg Sprague stood in Faneuil Hall and tried to awaken sympathy with the South by pointing up to the portrait of Washington, and calling him 'that slaveholder;' he did not omit to call to mind Richard Fletcher's base attempts to propitiate the South, nor the encouragement given to the murderers of Lovejoy, (at Alton,) by 'that infamous Attorney-General, James Trecothick Austin.' He proceeded to show what had been the position and attitude of the churches in Boston in the same period. Where, he asked, was Hubbard Winslow? Teaching that a minister's rule of duty, as to what he should teach and preach, is 'what the brotherhood will allow and protect.' Where is the pulpit of the Old South? Sustaining Slavery as a Bible institution. Where is Park street Church? Refusing to receive within its walls, for funeral service, the body of the only Martyr which the Orthodox Congregationalists of New England have had, Charles T. Torrey, and of whom they were not worthy.* And where is Federal street Church? Teaching that *silence* is the mission of the North with respect to Slavery, and closing its doors to the funeral eulogy of Follen, the bosom friend of the only man who will make Federal street pulpit to be remembered, William Ellery Channing. And I might ask, he said, where are the New South and Brattle street,—but they are not.

[The above is but a sketch of the commencement of Mr. P.'s speech,—we must leave the remainder untouched.]

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., moved that the question be now taken on the resolutions, (upon which no vote had previously been had,) taking up the resolution respecting GEORGE THOMPSON separately. The motion was adopted.

The resolution respecting Mr. Thompson was then adopted by acclamation.

The question being then taken upon the other resolutions, they were adopted.

The Society then adjourned, *sine die*.

N. B. During the first day of the meeting, the attendance was not so large as on previous years, probably not exceeding 600 in the day, and double that number in the evening. But the attendance rapidly increased on the second day, and the remainder of the meetings were like those of the old time, and worthy of the cause, very large and enthusiastic.

The Finance Committee reported about one thousand dollars pledged to the Society, and payable during the year, and over two hundred dollars paid in for expenses and as donations. In addition to this, the sum of thirty-three dollars was collected for the slave girl, Betsy Blakely.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.
SAMUEL MAY, JR., } *Secretaries*.
ELIZA J. KENNY, }

*And he might have asked, with equal propriety, Where is Essex street Church? Teaching that there are occasions when *the Golden Rule* may be set aside.

WE copy from a Newcastle (England) paper the following account of a Soiree given to W. W. Brown at Newcastle. His friends in this country will rejoice at these evidences of the kind reception he meets with abroad, and of the success which crowns his labors in behalf of his oppressed countrymen.

SOIREE TO WILLIAM WELLS BROWN,
IN NEWCASTLE.

On Thursday evening the friends and supporters of the Anti-Slavery movement, met at the Music Hall, in this town at a public tea meeting, to afford to Mr. Brown, the American fugitive slave, an opportunity of addressing them on the subject of Slavery, and to present him with a testimonial of their esteem and regard. Between four and five hundred persons sat down to tea. The Rev J. Pringle was called to the chair. He congratulated the meeting upon the circumstances under which they had met, having amongst them an individual belonging to a race of men who had long been unrighteously and cruelly oppressed. He believed the cause they had met to advocate was of the highest importance, and intimately connected with the moral and religious advancement of society.

The Rev. T. POTTENGER participated in the general feeling of satisfaction at meeting Mr Brown on the present occasion and giving him a cordial welcome. Although there were many things in our own country, which, as a patriot and a Christian he deplored, one of the things that endeared it to him was that it was the land of the *free* as well as the brave. All kinds of Slavery deserved universal censure, but that was the most outrageous which was patronized and propped up by professing Christians.

Mr. BROWN, on rising, was enthusiastically cheered. He felt thankful, especially to the ladies of this town, for the kind manner in which he had been received as a representative of the slaves in America. Long before he arrived in this country, he had heard that Newcastle was head-quarters for Anti-Slavery in Great Britain, and when he returned he should follow in the footsteps of others, in giving his humble testimony to their efforts, not only in behalf of the American slave, but in the cause of freedom throughout the world. He gave an account of the rise and progress of the Anti-Slavery movement. Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, was the first to raise the banner of freedom in America, in the year 1818, and to advocate gradual emancipation for the slave. Travelling through Massachusetts he became acquainted with William Lloyd Garrison, then a printer about 19 years of age, who assisted him in the management of his newspaper; but Garrison, who took a higher ground, and advocated immediate emancipation, shortly after removed to Boston, where, by means of the press, he first agitated the question. He then visited England, and returned to America with that renowned champion of civil and religious liberty, Mr. George Thompson, who, in spite of immense opposition, aroused the attention of the community to the enormities of the system. Mr. Brown then related the subsequent progress of the abolition movement down to the present time. He was himself indebted to the Anti-Slavery Society of America for the position he now occupied. It was engaged in employing such men as Frederick Douglass as lecturers, in supporting fugitive slaves, and in creating a feeling which would eventually abolish Slavery altogether. With the Bible for a text-book, and England for the platform, he had no doubt of the result. Much had been already accomplished by the agitation of this subject. Although there is still in existence a law giving to the slaveholder the right of pursuing a slave into the free States, public sentiment will not allow him to be dragged back. Since the commencement of the movement, not only had the condition of the slave been improved, but of the five thousand free colored people in the slave States. The colored man formerly was not allowed the elective franchise in many of the free States; now that right had been granted to him in all the New England States but one. Mr. Brown concluded his highly interesting address by thanking the meeting for their kindness to him as the representative of the slaves who were still clanking their chains on the plantations of North America.

The Chairman then rose and presented to Mr. Brown a purse containing twenty sovereigns, accompained with the following address:—"This purse containing twenty sovereigns is presented to William Wells Brown by the following ladies and some other friends of the slave in Newcastle, as a token of their high esteem for his character and admiration of his zeal in advocating the claims of his three millions of brethren and sisters in bonds in the Southern States of America. They also express their sincere wish that his life may be long spared to pursue his valuable labors—that success may crown his efforts and those of his fellow Abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic, and his heart be gladdened by the arrival of the happy period when the *last shackle* shall be broken which binds the limbs of the *last slave*."

Mrs. Jno. Richardson, Miss Ann Richardson, Mrs. Edward Richardson, Miss Ellen Richardson, Mrs. Daniel Oliver, Mrs Morton, Mrs. Henry Walker, Mrs J. Dixon, Mrs. Charles Brightwen, Mrs. George Mennell, Mrs. James Watson, Mrs. Thomas Pottinger, Mrs Alexander Reid, Miss Pringle, Mrs. Jno Ross, Miss Potts, Mrs. Fenwick, Mrs. James Robson, Mrs John Mawson, Mrs. John Hindhaugh, Mrs. Burton, Mrs. Thomas Wilcke, Mrs. Stephenson, and Mrs. Innis. The purse, which was a very handsome one, was made and presented by the Misses, Swan, Berlin Wool Repository, Northumberland street.

Mr. BROWN felt deeply indebted for this mark of their kindness and could assure his friends, that the money they had so kindly presented to him should be employed in pleading the cause of his enslaved brethren and sisters.—This, with other testimonials, should go across the Atlantic to cheer the hearts of bondsmen, to stay up the hands of Abolitionists and weaken the grasp of the tyrant He could not forget the slaves of America, for he had still (if living) a mother, a sister, and three brothers in Slavery.

The Rev. J. HOUSTON expressed the extreme gratification he felt at the manner in which the meeting had been conducted, and the satisfactory nature of the results which would follow. He had great pleasure in proposing a vote o thanks to the ladies who had interested themselves in connection with the party and the testimonial. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Parsons. and after a vote of thanks to the chairman, and two or three Anti Slavery songs from Mr. Brown, the proceedings terminated.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1850.

PRO-SLAVERY PROGRESS IN MARYLAND.—A Baltimore correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

You will have seen that the House of Assembly of the State of Maryland has passed the bill repealing all laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the State. The vote was only 26 to 23—one-third of the members being absent by design or accident. The honest portion of the community "look to the Senate" to defeat so injurious and unnecessary a law, the effect of which will be to make Maryland the Slave Depot and Mart of all the worthless negroes of Virginia and other States. Bills have also been introduced in the Senate to repeal all laws authorizing the issue of permits for free blacks to remain in the State; and authorizing the inspection of all vessels going through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal with a view to intercept runaway slaves. So you will perceive that Maryland is to be filled with slaves, and they are not to escape, if our wise legislators can enact laws to keep them in bondage within the limits of the State. The end of all this will be far more to advance emancipation than to retard it, as I will show hereafter.

It hardly needs long argument to show that where Anti-Slavery has a respectable minority to support it, oppressive pro-slavery measures cannot fail to injure the cause they are meant to sustain, though we look for no other result from this movement in the Maryland Legislature than such as must necessarily follow from any agitation of the subject. This introduction of slaves into Maryland is dependent on another law than that made by the Legislature—that of supply and demand; but undoubtedly a change of existing statutes will tend to double opposition to the whole system of Slavery.

Vermont and Maryland.

The Maryland House of Delegates have adopted the following Resolutions by way of rejoinder to those of Vermont:

Resolved, unanimously, by the General Assembly of Maryland, That we recognize it as our duty to treat with consideration and respect the resolutions of other States, expressing in calm and dignified terms their honest convictions of grave constitutional rights.

Resolved, That we claim for ourselves, and accord to others, the widest liberty of opinion and of expression, and do not find in difference of views, on constitutional or moral questions, ground for dissension or complaint: but we cannot in justice to ourselves entertain a communication that condemns our institutions in terms designed to outrage the feelings of our constituents and to exhibit a studied disrespect to their representatives.

Resolved, further, That firmly attached to the Union of the States, we will not entertain or consider resolutions denouncing institutions recognized and guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States and of this State, and having for their palpable object to provoke a dissolution of the Union.

Resolved, That the Governor of this State be, and he is hereby requested to return to the Governor of Vermont the resolutions of her Legislature, and to transmit them with a copy of these resolutions as explanatory of the reason which impels us to this course.

NEGROES IN LOUISIANA.—The Courts of Louisiana are more humane in their decisions in relation to the blacks than those of any other States, though we are not aware that any that have hitherto been made have influenced, in any degree, the condition of either bond or free among the colored people. Here, however, is one which if permitted to have any weight cannot fail to be of great importance. On the question whether free negroes could be allowed to testify in the Courts of Louisiana, Judge King, of New Orleans, recently gave the following decisions:

"We have been referred to decisions of the Courts of Carolina and Maryland, in which it has been held that free persons of color are incompetent to testify in cases in which the rights of white persons are concerned. It is urged that the rule is founded on the degraded condition of the African in States where Slavery exists, and should equally prevail in this.

The decisions to which we have been referred cannot be considered as authority in our Courts. They appear to be based upon statutes which expressly prohibit free persons of color, not only in criminal, but also in civil cases, in which white persons are parties. No such prohibition exists here.

In South Carolina the principle of exclusion has been carried still further. It has been there held that free persons of color are incompetent witnesses in any case in a court of record in that State, although both the parties to the suit be of the same class with themselves—Gronning *vs.* Devana. 2d Bailey's Rep. 192, 1 McCord, 435, 1 Harris & Johnson, 750.

Our legislation and jurisprudence upon this subject differs materially from those of the slave States generally, in which the rule contended for prevails. This difference of public policy has no doubt arisen from the different condition of that class of persons in this State. At the date of our earliest legislation as a territory, as well as at the present day, free persons of color constituted a numerous class. In some districts they are respectable from their intelligence, industry, and habits of good order. Many of them are highly educated, and the instances are by no means rare in which they are large property holders. So far from being in that degraded state which renders them unworthy of belief, they are such persons as courts and juries would not hesitate to believe under oath. Moreover this numerous class is entitled to the protection of our laws, but that protection would, in many cases, be illusory, and the greatest offences against their persons and property might be committed with impunity by white persons, if the rule of exclusion contended for were recognized. They are also included in article 2,260 of our Civil Code as competent persons to testify in civil matters.

DR. PENNINGTON.—The Senatus of the University, of Hiedelberg, says the *Evening Post*, has lately conferred the title of D. D. on the Rev. Mr. Pennington of this city, who is now in Ediaburg. This is the second time this distinction has been bestowed on Mr. Pennington. In the former case he declined accepting it.

☞ The name of Robert Browning, the author of 'the Pied Piper of Hamelin,' was accidentally omitted last week in copying that amusing and admirable poem.

Domestic Correspondence.

Aspects at the Capital.

WASHINGTON, January 29, 1850.

THE Legislature of your State has seconded the movement of Mr. Seward, as to the proposed grant of public lands to the Hungarians, and also the movement of Mr. Webster, as to the freedom of the Public Lands, in limited quantities to actual settlers, without regard to the accident of birth place. The Resolutions so declaring were presented yesterday morning, in the Senate by Mr. Seward. The movements, taken together, are hopefully significant; and it is to be hoped that the Senate will speedily look to the God-given rights of the lack-landless.

Mr. Mason, of Va, having the floor spoke at some length on the *Slave-catchers Bill*, mainly in explanation of his amendments.

—Now, what think you was the tenor of one of these?—Why, nothing short of the monied face of this "Model Republic"—this "mightiest nation on the force of the earth"—to be used to put down the sympathetic interference of any of your citizens for the protection of the poor flying fugitive! That is, the expense of the recapture of "chattels," if force be necessary, is to be paid for out of the Federal treasury—your money and mine.

Mr. Seward proposed an amendment which provides trial by Jury, Habeas Corpus writ, and all the other usual forms of trial, as in other cases made and provided. This fell like a rocket among the Hotspurs of the Senate! They felt inclined to object to its being printed, but *policy* prevented. Hangman Foote desired the opportunity to make another attack on Mr. Seward, "out of sympathy for one who seemed to be a simple sort of a man," as he said. Mr. Seward made no reply, as usual. This was proper as well as usual. But I must say, that Mr. Seward has manifested a great want of respect in his bearing. I learned that after the Senate adjourned to day, (I am glad I did not witness the disgustingly humiliating sight)! Mr. Seward actually went over to Mr. Foote's seat and handed his hand as blandly as if nothing had happened, as much as to say deprecatingly, "Oh spare me dear Sir!"

I am a peace man, you know; but I hardly know whether I could have found it in my heart to censure Seward as much, had he slapped Foote in the face, as I do now censure his obsequiousness and cringing course towards one that blackguarded him so often. I do hope his constituents will see to his ways in this respect.

Mr. Chase, who is an able man, will speak on this slave-catching Bill. He was absent from the Senate yesterday, owing to the death of a sister, as I learn: it was contrary to the supposition that it was his wife—which inference naturally enough grew out of the fact that his lady has been at a Hydropathic Institute in Philadelphia for some time, for the treatment of a severe pulmonary attack developed since she came East.

Yesterday was the day fixed upon for the chosing of a Chaplain in the House. But, it being Resolution day, the matter was not reached, to the great disappointment of the hundred and five "patriotic, Union-loving" preachers in anxious suspense. The proceedings were not very interesting. There were two efforts to get certain Resolutions for Peace Arbitrators, on the part of our glory-covered nation, in the hands of a Special Committee, so that the subject might not sleep the sleep of death. Once the friends of the measure came within one vote of success, by dint of the Ayes and Nays. Messrs Crowell and Tuck were the actors in this movement against the *bellum horridum* spirit of our "enlightened age." Mr Disney, of Ohio, offered some resolutions instructing the Judiciary Committee to defend the rights of the people of the Territories of the Nation, including those of this District, by amendments to the Constitution; but his resolutions were so wordy, that I could not catch their drift, except to see that they were Anti-Slavery, as they of course should be, coming from Representatives of the freedom-blessed city of Cincinnati.

The House adjourned, pending a resolution instructing the Committee on the Public Lands to grant bounty lands to those who fought, not only in the war of 1812, and the never-to-be-forgotten, Slavery-protecting Florida war, but even those who slaughtered the poor, wronged Indians under "Mad Anthony," in 1782-5, as General Wayne used to be called. Thus the bill of Carnage is to be footed by even the friends of Peace!

This "glorious Union" is not dissolved yet, you see! There is no danger that it will be, yet awhile. It would take away all the thunder of the Jupiter Tonans Class from the South, too suddenly. They have not blustered *quite* long enough! Then they would lose all such gratifying exhilarations of disinterested patriotism as that made by your voluntary Bootlicker General, (Senator Dickinson,) when he declared himself ready to draw his rusty sword and spill his precious blood in defence of the South!—that is, *fight* against his own home and kindred. Aptly may be applied to them the lines which we put into the mouth of one of the characters in *Hudibras*:

"We've done enough to have it *thought*;
And that's as good as if we'd *done it!*"

Now, gentlemen Disunionists, you are wasting your "fanatical zeal" for nought, if you depend on the South to dissolve speedily! They have no serious notion of it; and, if you don't get the free States ready, you will have to feed yourselves, a good while longer, on the unsubstantial flour of "hope deferred." Mr. Clingman don't believe his own cool calculations as to the disadvantages thereof—the "ruinous disadvantages" to the North, and the safety of the self-relying South! The very idea is farsical. Only fancy the "fix" in which the broken down Aristocracy of the South would find themselves, on awaking, amid the songs of gay-plumed birds and the fawnings of balmy breezes the morning after the catastrophe! Alas! the breezes would soon seek in vain for the sails of a thrifty commerce, whereon to exercise their powers, and the birds would become tormentors, singing, as it were, songs of gladness amid funeral agony!

For a land that cannot pay for its mail service, to talk about an independent commercial life is simply ludicrous—evidence of actual *hallucination*, when seriously put forth! And, then for Georgians, who according to their authority, the *Savannah Georgian*, import even their "*pig-yokes*" from Yankee Land, to talk self-sustaining "home manufactures," —why it is hyper-ludicrous!

I know nothing so aptly illustrative the "pretense" of these Hotspurs, as another passage from the inimitable work just quoted, which represents the knight as believing Ralpho's advice as to his love-adventures, while in appearance crying it down, just as Congress *et id genus omnia* counterfeits by a sort of reversed mental process the earnestness of your school. In connection with the real sequence of dissolution to the South, and stripped of the irony, it contains good forewarning advice for these Southern agitators—and therefore I will quote it for their benefit:—

"Quoth he, this gambol thou advisest,
Is of all others the unwisest!
For, if I think by law to gain her,
There's nothing sillier or vainer;
'Tis but to hazard my pretense,
Where nothing's certain but th' expense;
To act *against myself*, and traverse
My suit and title to her favors.
And if she *should*, (which heaven forbid!)
O'er throw me as the fiddler did,
What after course have I to take
'Gainst losing all I have at stake!"

SIGMA.

Foreign Correspondence.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

DUBLIN, December 28, 1849.

MY DEAR GAY:—I do not know whether *Fraser's* is one of those British Magazines and Reviews that are regularly reprinted for the edification and delectation of the American public. The proprietor of that magazine is (as his name imports), a Scotchman, and Thomas Carlyle has long been one of its most distinguished contributors. Indeed his articles were a principal means of securing that eminence and popularity for *Fraser*, which are of such costly and difficult attainment for any serial publication in these countries. In the last number there is an article from Carlyle's pen upon the state of British West Indian affairs, which is the cause of my now writing to you. It appears there is a difficulty in inducing the free negro population to work on the sugar plantations for such wages as their former masters are disposed to offer, and that in consequence a considerable quantity of land is going out of cultivation to the great loss of the proprietors. What the actual facts of the case are, I do not precisely know, but from Joseph John Gurney's and other accounts that I have read of these Islands since the abolition of Slavery, I understand that the great majority of the population are happy and prosperous; and that they are not unproductive idlers, is I think proved by the circumstance that the quantity of British goods exported thither has vastly increased since the people's time and earnings became their own, instead of being sent off to England in the shape of sugar—to be sold there for the benefit of that powerful aristocratic clique called the "West Indian Interest," or their mortgagees. If you are familiar with Carlyle's writings you are aware of his deadly hatred to the colored race. He never calls a colored man anything but Quashee or Sambo. And his hostility towards all who take their part is as ferocious and vituperative as that of a South Carolinian toward an Abolitionist. Carlyle has got a great name for earnestness and truthfulness, and for his hostility to shams—but as far as my observation goes, I have rarely met with less earnestness or truthfulness than among his professed admirers. They appear to believe in nothing, but in some of their apostles' bloody idols. I would not dread a fair comparison for earnestness, truthfulness, reality of character between the philanthropists he abuses in his grotesque dialect, and Cromwell, Mahomet and those other sanguinary fanatics whom he esteems as men of whom the world was not worthy. But all you have ever seen of this eccentric writer is excelled in absurdity, unreasonableness, insolence and utter recklessness of the commonest principles of justice, equity, and fair play, by this last article in *Fraser*. He absolutely raves and roars, in a style that is only suited to the most southern part of the South. If this essay had proceeded from the pen of a New Orleans professor of moral philosophy or a bishop of Charleston, Romish or Protestant, I should not wonder, but it looks very odd as the production of a son of cautious, God-fearing Scotland. If his suggestions and recommendations were generally adopted, society should be resolved into its primitive elements, and every man left to follow

"The good old rule, the simple plan
That they should take who have the power
And they should keep who can."

I send you herewith an admirable reply to Carlyle's atrocious and disgraceful article, from the columns of the *Inquirer* newspaper, which is I believe the principal organ of the Unitarian body in England. This paper has done good service to the Anti-Slavery cause; and some of the ablest and most intelligent writing that I have seen upon American Slavery has appeared in its pages. If you can lay hands on *Fraser*, I recommend you to print it also in the Pro-Slavery department, and then follow it up with the article from the *Inquirer*, and I am not afraid that every impartial, honest-minded man with a spark of Christian feeling, will admit that the English editor has shown himself a wiser and a better man than the Scotch philosopher.

—One of the great and crying evils of this passion of Carlyle's for saying brutal and inhuman things, is that his worshippers think themselves bound to follow his example, and accordingly when they set to write in the same line, they fairly out Herod Herod. A strange instance of this came to my knowledge lately. Some weeks ago I was asked to subscribe for a new periodical to be edited by one of this tribe of Carlyle's pupils. I paid my bright shilling—worth two of your New York ones—not for the love of the writer, but of the friend who asked me in his behalf. And behold, when the first number came to hand, one of the leading articles in large type was entitled "The Anti-Capital Punishment Humbug," written in the Carlyle dialect, but more detestable for its inhumanity and ferocity than anything I have ever seen from the pen of the great man himself. Baron Haynau, or a Paris Septembriser, might have worthily and fitly fathered it. I send you the paper itself. It is worth your notice as a sample of the extremities to which the pupils of the great preacher of *earnestness*, *reality*, *self-dependence*, and the hatefulness of *shams*, are driven in their anxiety to look as like their master as possible. You will find on the same sheet an admirable paper "on Books written for women," from the pen of Geraldine Jewsbury, the gifted authoress of The Half Sisters and Zoe. It may also gratify you to see a Reply to "The Anti-Capital Punishment Humbug." It was sent me by the writer who is unknown to me. I think you will agree with me that it is calculated to make the friend of Jack Ketch feel almost as unhappy as if he had his favorite rope round his own neck.

This day we have had hard frost for the first time this year. We think it very cold, but I suppose a seasoned New Yorker would think it "ethereal mildness." Every nose is red. Every body blows his fingers. All who can buy coal burn it, "and bless the useful light." So, wishing you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year, and hoping you may like my basket of scraps.

I remain, yours truly,
RICHARD D. WEBB.

Congressional.

THE following report of Congressional proceedings contains all of importance with reference to Slavery for the last two weeks. The Territorial Bill of Mr. Foote coming up in the Senate, January 21, Mr. Cass made a long speech against the Constitutionality as well as expediency of the Wilmot Proviso. As however, no new points were advanced and as our readers have probably read it already, we do not take up room for it. On the same day in the lower House was received the President's Message, which was given in our columns last week.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 22, 1850.

Mr. STANTON of Tennessee, from the Naval Committee, asked, and was discharged from the consideration of a memorial to suppress the African slave trade, by a vigorous colonization, and that a line of steamers be established to ply between this country and Western Africa.

A discussion took place on the resolution to purchase for Members, Sutherland's Congressional Manual, and it was rejected.

On motion of Mr. BAYLY, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, when he submitted a series of resolutions referring to the proper Committees the several topics in the President's Annual Message.

Mr. CLINGMAN said that the course and extent of the advocates of non-Slavery at the North is not understood generally in the South He had supposed that if California and New Mexico should come into the Union as States, the slave agitation would cease His opinion was changed.—He thought that to make the Territories free would be regarded as an Anti-Slavery triumph. There is a bitter feeling at the North, which will continue to increase. It is partly owing to the old Abolition Societies, but mainly owing to the efforts of politicians. Both parties court Abolition votes, and are brought up to the Abolition platform.—Nearly the whole press of the North are against the South. He might make exceptions. The *New York Herald*, with great influence and a wide circulation, has the candor to publish facts on both sides of the question. If this matter goes over to the next Election, very few gentlemen can come to Congress unless they stand on the Abolition platform. If the South give way it will accelerate the abolition of Slavery in the District, and wherever it exists. Suppose the South were to say to the North: "You shall not occupy the Territories unless you take slaves there." Of course the North would object to this; but these gentlemen say they cannot live where there are slaves; they even object to divide the Territory; they will not give the South one foot although the South contributed two-thirds of the men in the war which preceed the acquisition. But for the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, from time to time, in this House, slaveholders would have gone to California, to work the mines, and make that a slave State. The North say that Slavery is degrading, but a higher state of civilization never before prevailed at the South than now. If the South give way, what will be the result? California, New Mexico, Minnesota, Oregon and Deseret will come into the Union as free States, and the North will have entire control in the Senate, and two members to one of the South in the House. Twenty years would not pass before they would alter the Constitution to suit themselves. The state of feeling at the South had become considerably weakened in consequence of Northern aggression. The South would acquiesce in any thing like justice; but when they asked for any thing like this, they were met with the insane and senseless cry of "The Union." This fell on his ears like the words of the robber who, if his victim resists, shouts "Peace!" "Union!" We dont want lectures—we want justice. Our ancestors acquired their liberty by the sword, and we are determined at all hazards, to preserve it. He would say, let Southern men stand up with him, and do nothing until the question is settled. Let the wheels of Government stop. Every officer of the Government would then be interested in the settlement of the question. The people of both sections would then be obliged to make provision for their support. If the interregnum should continue long, the arrangement would become permanent.—Seeing the danger, the South has the wisdom and courage to make the issue now, when they have the power to resist. They must triumph in the struggle and the Abolitionists then would not have power to hurt them.

Mr. HOWARD of Texas said if the Union ever be dissolved, it is to be dissolved as a matter of feeling, not as a matter of interest in any respect. He should not indulge in any recrimination of the North. There are men at the North who have stood by the Constitution as it came from Washington and others Let justice be done to those who maintain the great principles of non-intervention. When the crisis comes, every Southerner and slaveholder will stand up as one man.

The Message sent in yesterday is singular on the affairs of California. Notwithstanding the President says that he did not interfere in the political affairs of California, the letter of the Secretary of State to Mr. King proves the contrary. The *result* is the key to the instructions to the officers of the General Government, who, if they can interfere in affairs of the Territories, and introduce the peculiar notions of the Administration, then the States are reduced to contemptible and petty corporations. He denied that the President had carried out the course of the last Administration with regard to the Territories. He earnestly pressed the position, that the question of the boundary of Texas was already settled by decision of the Supreme Court, and by the terms of the Resolution of Annexation, and the Treaty with Mexico. The people of that State will never be forced to give a portion of their domain to purposes of Free Soil

Mr. BROWN of Mississippi, obtained the floor, when the Committee rose and the House adjourned.

SENATE January 23, 1850.

On motion of Mr. PHELPS, the Senate resumed the consideration of the motion to print the resolutions submitted by him from the Legislature of Vermont, relating to the extension of Slavery and its existence in the Federal District.

Mr. PHELPS proceeded to address the Senate at length in support of the resolutions in which he vindicated the North against the charge of interference in Southern institutions and referred to the course of Jefferson in regard to the ordinance of '87, and urged the constitutionality of the proviso.

Mr. YULEE enquired whether the Senator spoke for the North, or declared her willingness to submit this whole question to the decision of the Supreme Court? If so, he did not doubt the readiness of the South to meet them upon that basis.

Mr. BUTLER could not agree with the Senator from Florida. When the "Clayton Compromise" bill was before the Senate, the South would have been satisfied to rest their rights upon the legal decision; but for one he could not now consent to the submission of the rights of fourteen sovereign States to the decision of the Supreme Court.—That time had passed.

Mr. FOOTE read from Mr. Madison to support the proposition, that there may be instances of the exercise of an usurped power which cannot be brought within the jurisdiction of the Judiciary, and that in such cases the party oppressed was entitled to take such remedy as seemed to them necessary for the vindication of their rights

Mr PHELPS said that nothing which had been urged, affected what he had said, which was, that if the Law of Congress should prove offensive, there was a tribunal which had the power to decide whether Congress had exceeded its power, and that it should be abundant reason for the institution of extraordinary remedial measures, when all the Constitutional remedies had been exhausted.

Mr. P. having concluded, the pending motion was laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Butler, the bill relating to the execution of the Constitutional provision for the recapture of fugitive slaves, was taken up and made the special order for to morrow; after which the Senate adjourned.

SENATE, January 24, 1850.

The Senate in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to the consideration of the special order—the bill providing the more effectuel execution of the provision of the Constitution relating to the recapture of fugitive slaves.

Mr. BUTLER addressed the Senate in support of the Bill, stating its object, and explaining the necessities which, in his opinion, required its immediate adoption, in the course of his remarks, stating that the loss to the South, by the escape of slaves, amounted annually to at least $150,000.—He must in candor confess, that he had no very great confidence that the bill would effect, to any considerable extent, the required object, because the Federal Government had but little authority to enforce the recognition and fulfillment of the requirements of the spirit of the Constitution. The good faith and integrity of the people must be relied on, in a great measure, for the support of the Constitution, and if that would not preserve it inviolate, little dependence could be placed upon statutory provisions to effect that object. He referred to the legislation of the various Northern States in relation to the recapture of runaways, contending that their laws were intended to evade the constitutional provision, and, that under their operation, it was almost useless to attempt the recovery of a fugitive slave. After citing from the statutes of various States, he said that he had not been able to ascertain what were those of Ohio.—The sentiments of her representatives on this floor were very well known. One of them had, in a resolution, declared, that when called upon to support the Constitution of the United States, he would do so with a mental reservation, never to support this clause relative to fugitive slaves.

Mr. CHASE asked to whom the Senator referred.

Mr. BUTLER—To you, Sir.

Mr. CHASE—I never offered such a resolution—never voted for such—never would offer and never would vote for such a resolution.

Mr. BUTLER said the resolution was imputed to the Senator in a newspaper paragraph.

Mr. CHASE thought that when the Senator made such charges he should be careful to have better authority for them than newspaper paragraphs

Mr. BUTLER said that the Senator from Ohio presented the resolution in *propria persona* at an Anti-Slavery Convention. He was glad to hear that the statement was untrue. Mr. Butler stated further that those of the Northern States which had not passed laws evading the Constitutional proviso, had failed to take any measures to assist the South, as they were bound in good faith to do. As to any Congressional action on the subject, he was well aware that the North had the majority; and that the only hope of the South was in the wisdom, honor, and forebearance of that majority. They asked that a constitutional provision for their protection be carried out, that they might enjoy the protection for which they had stipulated in its adoption. In concluding his remarks—

Mr. BUTLER made some incidental allusions to the question of Slavery, which now agitates the Union. He acknowledged that the discord and distraction now prevailing upon the question, grew out of the result of the war with Mexico, but he felt it due to himself to say that while he advocated the war, and voted for supplies in the first instance, that from the time it became a war of invasion, he was the only gentlemen, on his side of the chamber, who opposed the acquisition of new territory as a fruit of the war. He foresaw that such acquisition would prove an apple of discord, as it had proved. In alluding to the evils which he feared might result from the acquisition of territory, by a large army, at a great distance from home, he passed a glowing eulogium upon General Scott, who with an influence over his army which might have enabled him to pursue almost any scheme of self-aggrandizement, at a time when his achievements were being crowned with success, and which well-earned laurels were about to fall on him, for acts which would have made a fame for him as extended as the civilized world—left the field at the direction of his Government and returned home, leaving others to reap the fruits of his ability and plans for success. His conduct on that occasion deserved at the hands of the people the highest reward which his country could bestow: he deserved such distinction, not only for the purity of his designs, but for the ability with which he executed them

Mr CHASE rose to address the Senate. He did not know why any one Senator should be singled out, as he had been on one or two occasions, unless it was that a Senator not belonging to either of the great parties was a safer object of attack than one who was supported by a powerful party.—In a few remarks he should briefly say that he favored no concealment of purpose or principle, no mental reservation or hesitation to avow what he believed to be the truth. As to the Resolution which had been attributed to him, he had already denied his connection with it.

Mr. MASON inquired whether Mr. Chase was not present at the meeting which adopted the Resolution?

Mr. CHASE said the Resolution was adopted by a Convention of the Liberty Party, held at Buffalo, at which he was present, and of which he was a member. He was one of the Committee on Resolutions, and the Resolution in question was presented to that Committee, who declined however, to present it to the Committee. How far his action in the Committee led to that result, he would not say. It was subsequently introduced into the Convention by the mover, and adopted. He desired, while up, to say, that the Liberty Party was composed of men of as pure character as that of any body of indivduals ever associated for political purposes; men who had the honesty to avow what they meant, and the courage to fulfil what they resolved.

Mr. MASON expressing his desire to be heard on this bill, its further consideration was postponed until to-morrow.

After a short Executive Session, the Senate adjourned to Monday next.

JANUARY 28.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the special order—the bill providing for the more effectual execution of the clause of the Constitution relative to the recapture of fugitive slaves.

Mr. MASON proceeded to address the Senate upon the bill. It was based upon two clauses of the Constitution, one guaranteeing to one section of the Union the enjoyment of a certain species of property, the other requiring the extradition of fugitives from labor in one State, when fleeing into another He remarked upon the aggressive and unconstitutional invasion of the rights of the South, and the nullification of the constitutional provisions in support and recognition of these rights by the people and Legislatures of Northern States. In view of the spirit manifested by the North, he had no idea that the bill, if passed, would prove any remedy. He believed it would remain a dead letter upon the statute book. The South were compelled to ask the majority to pass and be governed by a law, executing a constitutional provision against which they had been for years in revolt. On the adoption of the Constitution, Northern delegates had conceded to the South certain advantages, for which they received important concessions; the very people who were now so sensitive that they could not even hear the word Slave mentioned in their presence, sold the South, receiving valuable consideration therefor,—the advantages connected with the institution of Slavery, to which he had referred. They yielded to the South the representation based upon the offensive institution: they tied their hands up from all legislation, prohibiting the slave trade for twenty years, and solemnly bound themselves to yield up the fugitives from labor taking refuge in free States. Notwithstanding all this, slaveholders when pursuing their escaped property into the adjacent free States, were not only treated like aliens, but like enemies; and this conduct was encouraged, year after year, by the Legislatures of the non-slaveholding States. He contended that the Constitution made it the duty of the States to recapture and deliver the fugitives taking refuge within their borders, as positively as it exacted the delivery up of fugitives from justice. He cited in support of this position an opinion submitted to President Washington four years after the adoption of the Constitution by the then Attorney General, which he urged, placed that construction upon the clause of the Constitution now in question. In submitting the definition of this subject, Mr. Mason contended that no individual, or authority in any State, had any right to interpose between two owners of escaped slaves and the fugitive; that none have the right to enquire whether one is the owner or the other the slave; much less have they the right to molest the master in the prosecution of his claim to the slaves. He urged further, that the master should be permitted to enter any house or grounds, for the purpose of capturing his slave, without being liable to action for trespass. He should be allowed to use such force as might be necessary to secure the slave without committing a breach of the peace, and if the slave make resistance, he should be permitted to use such measures as he deemed sufficient to overcome that resistance. These rights he held were the rights of ownership, the Constitution did not confer them, they were antecedent to the Constitution, and an incident of property; and when the Constitution recognized slave property, it carried with it all the obligations arising out of the rights of property. In the course of an explanation in defence of the various clauses of the bill, Mr. Mason said that the only class of officers who could be directed to give the required aid to the master of the fugitive, was that of Federal officers, as they alone were under the control of the Federal Government; and the States had refused to allow their officers to give such aid, in many cases affixing a penalty for such acts. In conclusion, he hoped the bill would pass; it was the only peaceable remedy that suggested itself to him, and if some measures affording effectual protection were not adopted, he would recommend to his people, as a matter of necessity, to provide by law for reprisal upon the property of the non-slaveholding States. There was no other way by which the South could secure redress for the great loss which her people sustained in the intentional failure by the North to execute its federal obligations.

MR. SEWARD gave notice of a substitute for the bill, providing, in effect, the same legal remedy and progess for the escaped slave as the white citizen is allowed him in a controversy relative to the ownership of property, which was received.

Mr. FOOTE addressed the Senate against the printing of the amendment, not because he objected to printing in the abstract, but because he had a regard for the reputation of the Senator from New York; sympathy for whom compelled him to protest against putting in print, and sending forth to the country a proposition which must redound so infinitely to the discredit of the mover. Mr. Foote proceeded for some time, with additional sarcastic remarks relative to the course of the Senator. Mr. Seward stated that Mr. Chase, who had been called from his seat by the intelligence of a severe domestic bereavement, desired to address the Senate upon this bill. In order to give him the opportunity, he suggested that the further consideration of the subject be postponed until to-morrow.

Mr. DAYTON being ready to proceed with a statement of his objection to the bill, took the floor, but yielded to a motion to proceed to the consideration of Executive business, which was adopted, and the Senate soon after adjourned.

JAN. 29.

The Senate having concluded some other business Mr. Clay presented the following Resolutions:

It being desirable for the peace, concord, and harmony of the Union of these States, to settle and adjust amicably all questions of controversy between them, arising out of the institution of Slavery, upon a fair equality and just basis, therefore—

1st. *Resolved*, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction to the exclusion or introduction of Slavery within those boundaries.

2d. *Resolved*, That as Slavery does not exist by law and is not likely to be introduced into those territories acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient to provide, by law, either for its introduction into or its exclusion from, any part of the said territory; and that appropriate Territorial Governments ought to be established by Congress, in all of the said territories, not assigned as the boundaries of this proposed State of California, without the abolition of any restriction or condition on the subject of Slavery.

3d, *Resolved*, That the western boundary of the State of Texas ought to be fixed on the Rio del Norte, commencing one marine league from its mouth, and running up that river to the Southern line of New Mexico, thence with that line Eastwardly, and continuing in the same direction, to the line as established between the United States and Spain, not extending any portion of New Mexico, whether lying on the East or West of that river.

4th, *Resolved*, That it be proposed to the State of Texas, that the United States will provide for the payment of all that portion of all the legitimate and *bona fide* public debts of that State contracted prior to its annexation to the United States, and for which the duties of foreign imports were pledged by the said State, to its creditors, not exceeding the sum of —— dollars, in consideration of the duties as pledged, having been no longer applicable to that object after the said annexation, but having thenceforward become payable to the United States; and upon the condition also, that the said State shall, by some solemn and authentic act of her Legislature, or of a Convention, relinquish to the United States any claim which it has to any part of New Mexico.

5th. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, while that institution continues to exist in the State of Maryland, without the consent of that State, without the consent of the people of the District, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the District.

6th. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to prohibit within the District the slave trade, in slaves brought into it from States or places beyond the limits of the District, either to be sold therein, as merchandize, or to be transported to other markets, without the District of Columbia.

7th—*Resolved*, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law according to the requirements of the Constitution, for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor, in any State, who may escape into any other State or Territory of this Union.

8th—*Resolved*, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States, and that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular laws.

He had thought that, in looking at this whole subject, it was fit and proper to resort to great and fundamental principles, to keep them before the mind, that they might not violate them. These resolutions involved no sacrifice of any principle; they were founded upon a basis of mutual forbearance and concession—a concession, not of matters of principle, but matters of feeling merely. He thought, in view of all the circumstances, a more liberal concession might be expected from the Free States than could be asked of the South; and, truly, with gentlemen from the North this question was an abstraction, while with the people of the South it was a principle involving their property, and, as a large portion of them believed, of their prosperity and peace.

The North, too, was numerically more powerful and greatness and magnanimity should always go together. Mr. CLAY concluded with a most eloquent appeal in behalf of harmony, peace, mutual concessions, and forbearance for the sake of the Union. In the course of his remarks he exhibited a sacred relic—a piece of the coffin of Washington—presented him this morning, and submitted some thrilling observations relative to the distinguished dead, and the spirit which he, if upon the stage of action, would urge in the settlement of the momentous question under discussion. He moved that the resolutions be made the special order for Tuesday next, which after some further debate, was adopted—and soon after the Senate adjourned.

Obituary.

DR. MARTIN GAY.

THE recent death of Dr Gay is deeply and widely lamented in this community. Few even of his most intimate friends were aware, before the very general manifestation of sympathy and sorrow which that event has called forth, how extensively and how justly his modest and unpretending worth was appreciated The loss of such an individual, in the midst of usefulness, is always felt as a public calamity; and many hearts are now sad with feelings which crave the melancholy relief of expression.

Dr. Gay was the son of Hon. Ebenezer Gay, and was born in this city, in the year 1803. His father who was then engaged in the practice of law, subsequently removed to Hingham, and there Dr. Gay spent most of his early life. He was educated at Harvard University, and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in the year 1826. He was one of the original members of the Boston Society of Natural History, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His acquired knowledge, particularly in his profession and the sciences of Chemistry and Mineralogy, was accurate and extensive. His judgment was sound and discriminating, and he was skilful in the application of his knowledge to practical purposes. He occasionally delivered courses of lectures on Chemistry, and always with success. In many of the analytical processes of this science, especially those required in toxicological researches, he was thoroughly versed; and his scientific services were sought in many cases of suspected poisoning.

Dr. Gay was not ambitious of the fame of authorship. He published nothing in his own name except a pamphlet in the year 1847, entitled, 'Discovery by Charles T Jackson, M. D., of the Applicability of Sulphuric Ether in Surgical operations.' Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the questions at issue in the controversy respecting the discovery of Etherization, there can be none as to the ability, fairness, and gentlemanly spirit with which that production is written, nor the generous devotion of friendship which prompted him to undertake the defence of what he believed, with the strongest conviction, to use his language, to be "the cause of truth and justice."

He had a lively sensibility to the charms of music, and to the beautiful in nature and art; and his taste was cultivated during his travels in Europe, by a careful study of many of the productions of the great masters in painting and sculpture. Of his professional merit the writer is not competent to speak; but he has the authority of accomplished medical men for saying that he fully deserved the great confidence which his patients reposed in him.

It is not, however, intellectual gifts and attainments that are most worthy of commemoration. When a good man dies, whatever may have been his intellectual endowments, or worthy distinctions, it is not these things that survivors dwell on with most satisfaction, or mourn with the deepest sorrow. It is felt that there is something in a noble, virtuous character, that far transcends them in value. The recognition of this great truth in the general and spontaneous expression of grief for Dr Gay's death, is highly creditable to the moral sense of this community. He possessed neither wealth, conspicuous station, nor the qualities that command popular applause; yet few deaths have occurred in this city, for many years, that have been more widely lamented. The quiet beauty and attractiveness of his daily life, his delicate regard for the feelings of others, his unaffected courtesy, frankness, and benignity of manners, his nice sense of honor, his generous and disinterested kindness, his strong love of truth and justice, his sterling honesty, and his rigid conscientiousness, all happily blended in just proportions, could not fail to inspire affection, confidence and respect. His moral principle had peculiar strength. No one could know him, without feeling that no temptation could move him from his purpose to be a perfectly upright and honorable man. Neither indignation at imposture and injustice, personal friendship, nor a desire to advance his own interests, could make him swerve in the slightest degree, from his convictions of honor and right. No physician in the city has for many years, it is believed, been so often called upon to testify in courts of justice, in cases involving questions of medico-chemical science. On such occasions, legal gentlemen, eminent for station and ability, have pronounced him to have been unsurpassed for fairness, clearness, and accuracy, and for the confidence which he inspired as a man of science and of truth.

Dr. Gay's character in his domestic relations was in beautiful harmony with the rest of his life. His memory will long be affectionately cherished, and faith in man and in virtue, will be the stronger in many hearts because he has lived.—*Boston Daily Advertiser*.

Miscellany.

THE INTELLIGENCE OF BIRDS.

We have been occupied, in the two preceding Papers, in the consideration of some of those remarkable manifestations of *Instinct* among Birds, which strongly remind us of the corresponding operations performed by Insects. It would be very easy to extend this part of the inquiry much further; and to show that not merely in their architecture, but in their ordinary modes of obtaining food, of escaping from their enemies, of nurturing and protecting their young, &c., they are guided by instinctive propensities, the *unvarying* exhibition of which, in the different individuals of the same species, forbids our regarding the actions dictated by them as the result of reasoning processes based on experience. Thus, when the curlew strikes the ground with its foot, and waits until the worms, alarmed (as it would seem) by the concussion, make their appearance at the surface, we can scarcely suppose that it does so on motives at all akin to those which lead *us* to knock at a door and to wait until it is answered: for it is obviously most unlikely that observation and experience could ever lead the curlew to the conclusion that this was the most ready means of obtaining its food: and certainly, without such experience, no *a priori* reasoning would have been likely to suggest such a method. Before it had found it out the bird must have starved. The same remark applies to most of what are termed the *stratagems* of birds which appear to be rather *methods* of action so regularly practised by the bird in particular circumstances, that we have no sufficient ground for believing that they are expressly devised by the individual for the purpose which they answer. Thus, when the lapwing decoys away an enemy from her nest, by flying, as if wounded, so as to induce him to follow her, we can scarcely suppose that the bird does this because it is *aware* that its stratagem will produce a particular effect upon the movements of its pursuer, and designedly adapts its means to the end in view. On the contrary, the very universality of the habit, and the adaptation in the physical structure of the bird to the performance of the movement in question (a particular drooping of the wing, from which its common name is derived,) indicate that it is prompted by some more direct agency than that of reason founded on observation and experience. So, again, the death-like immobility which is exhibited by many birds (as well as by insects and other animals,) when unexpectedly captured, seems to be much rather a real paralysis consequent upon alarm (resembling that to which many human beings are subject, in circumstances of sudden danger, real or imaginary,) than an intentional *feigning* for the purpose of escape. That a bird should do this with a purpose, implies a degree of previous knowledge on its part, which we are scarcely justified in attributing to it.

In place, however, of enlarging further upon this part of the subject, it is my intention, in this Paper, to point out some of those indications of *intentional design* in Birds, which show that they *are* occasionally guided by something analogous to the reason of Man. This we may assuredly infer, when we see that they obviously profit by experience, and modify their habitual actions in accordance with it. A case of this kind—that of the wren in the slate-quarries—was mentioned in one of the early papers of this series: and I shall now mention another, of a still more remarkable kind, which is recorded by Mr. Jesse. A pair of jackdaws endeavored to construct their nest in one of the small windows that lighted the spiral staircase of an old church tower. As is usual, however, in such windows, the sill, or base, sloped inwards, with a considerable inclination; and, consequently, there being no level base for the nest, as soon as a few sticks had been laid, and it was beginning to acquire weight, it slid down. This seems to have happened two or three times: nevertheless the birds clung to the site they had selected with great pertinacity, and at last devised a most ingenious method of overcoming the difficulty. Collecting a great number of sticks, they built up a sort of cone upon the staircase, the summit of which rose to the level of the window-sill, and afforded the requisite support to the nest: this cone was not less than six feet high, and so large at its base, as quite to obstruct the passage up the staircase: and, notwithstanding the large amount of material which it contained, it is known to have been constructed within four or five days. Now as this is, as a device, quite foreign to the natural habit of the bird, and only hit upon after the repeated failure of its ordinary method of nest building, we must, I think, regard the curious adaptation of means to ends which it displayed, as proceeding from a design in the minds of the individuals who executed it. Another instance, in which a bird obviously learned by experience to perform a particular action foreign to its nature, was related to me by a Swiss friend, who had himself witnessed the fact he narrated. In the town in which he was brought up, was a domesticated Stork, which was accustomed to receive its food every evening about six o'clock, along with the ordinary poultry; and the latter being usually allowed to roam at large in the streets, were collected together, at the proper time, by a man who went through the town in search of them. The stork, after having thus learned not to expect its food until the poultry had been all collected, spontaneously accompanied the collector, and assisted him in bringing the fowls together; and after doing this for a considerable time, becoming gradually more and more independent and self-relying, the stork became quite competent to perform this duty for itself, and was at last intrusted with it, so that it might be seen on any evening, gravely perambulating the town, and collecting its flock of poultry, and driving it home, just as a shepherd's dog collects the sheep. (The Jacana, a South American bird, allied to our Rails, is said to be very commonly entrusted, in like manner, with the charge of the poultry-yard.) I cannot vouch for the truth of the following anecdote, nor do I know anything of the narrator: but after what has just been related of the intelligence, discrimination, and docility of the Stork, it does not seem to me by any means improbable. "I saw in a garden," says Dr. Hermann "in which children were playing at hide and seek (!), a tame stork join the party, run in its turn when touched, and distinguish the child who was to pursue the rest so well, as, along with the others, to be on its guard."

The birds have, even in their very young state, that power of learning by experience which depends upon simple acts of memory and association, is evident from the following circumstance. Every one knows that most young birds are incapable of sustaining their own temperature, and that they nestle for warmth under the breast and wings of the mother. Now when chickens are reared by artifical incubation, they have no such natural resource. The room in which they are reared for the first few days, is kept at a rather high temperature; but still they occasionally need a larger supply of heat: and this is afforded by a set of pipes through which warm water circulates, these being laid round the sides of the room, at a height just sufficient to allow a young chicken to stand under them, and to receive the required warmth from their contact with its back. I have myself seen the chickens thus nestling under this not very inviting "artificial mother:" and on asking the man in charge of the apparatus whether the chickens ran beneath it of their own accord, I was informed by him that it was necessary in the first instance to place them there by hand, but that when they had once experienced the warmth, they could return to the source of it whenever they felt chilly, and especially at night. Another instance of the same kind of profiting by experience is found in the well-known fact, that whilst the birds of a region previously unvisited by man, are but little scared by his approach, but will even allow him to come into such close proximity with them, that he can knock them off their perch, the danger is soon appreciated by them, and they avoid man with the same wariness that they display towards their more *natural* enemies. A still greater degree of intelligence and discrimination is shown by rooks and crows, which are said to exhibit in their actions an obvious power of distinguishing whether a man who approaches them carries a gun or not, keeping at a great distance from him if they see this dangerous weapon in his possesion, but suffering him to approach much nearer to them if he does not carry it. Mr. Jesse states, that on putting a walking-stick to his shoulder after the manner of a gun, he has often seen a rook at which it was pointed fly away; but other rooks seem to be more discriminative (perhaps because they are more frequently thus molested), being remarked by other observers not to be scared by a stick when thus presented, though they will keep at a respectful distance from a gun. Rooks are well known to distinguish Sunday, when they inhabit trees on the outskirts of towns, where they are liable to continual danger and annoyance from the destructive propensities of their human neighbors; for they will on that day fly much lower than usual evidently from having learned by experience that they are not subject to the same molestation as at other times. Whether they distinguish the Sunday by some of its outward signs, or whether they are guided by that remarkable power of measuring intervals of time which many animals certainly possess, is a question which we have no means of determining. The following circumstance, of which I am personally cognizant, indicates the possession of the same kind of acquired knowledge. In a ladies-school which was formerly in existence near Bristol, it was customary for the young people to go into the play-ground for a few minutes every week-day, soon after twelve o'clock, and there to eat their luncheon. The crumbs of bread which they dropped on the ground proved very attractive to the sparrows in the neighborhood, which would congregate on the walls of the garden (as I have often myself seen) a little *before* twelve every day, waiting for the appearance of their young friends, and patiently anticipating the time when the return of the ladies into the school-room would allow them to profit by their leavings. But on Sundays, the habits of the family were altogether different; the visit to the play-ground gave place to attendance on public worship, and the mid-day luncheon to an early dinner: on that day, therefore, the sparrows went without their accustomed meal. But it was obvious that they did not expect it; for it might be observed by any one who happened to remain at home on Sunday morning, that the usual mid-day gathering did not present itself.—the sparrows having evidently learned, not merely to judge very accurately of the approach of noon on the week-days on which they might expect their feed, but also to distinguish the day on which they must dispense with it.

I have drawn a distinction in a former paper, between the simple docility of the Fowl tribe, which leads them to accommodate their own habits to those of Man, and the educability of other Birds, which enables them to learn some of his, and to receive instruction to an extent which produces effects that are at first sight truly marvellous. There are no birds so educable as the Parrot-tribe; but their educability chiefly depends upon their remarkable imitative power, and upon their capacity for associating one sound with another or with a particular visual object, so as together to produce results very much like those which we may witness in the case of a child of two or three years old, that, in learning to talk, repeats phrases which are learned by imitation without any distinct idea of their meaning, but sometimes bring them in remarkably *apropos*. A very good illustration of both faculties is afforded by a couple of anecdotes that were related to me by my late aged friend, Mr. Palmer, of Bristol. In his younger days, when Bristol was largely engaged in the African trade, the large grey parrots (which are far more intelligent than the green) were very numerous in that city, and often created great amusement. There was one which had a remarkable tact at distinguishing sailors; and would often stop in the middle of singing Handel's 104th psalm (which it performed most correctly), to ask Jack, with an oath, what he was looking at. The sight of a sailor obviously called forth the phraseology, which he had been accustomed to associate with that class. Another parrot caused no small degree of personal annoyance to Mr. Palmer himself. In his younger days, when an attorney's clerk, he was somewhat given to dandyism, and particularly rejoiced in a very long *queue*. A parrot, which was accustomed to hang outside the window of a house that he passed in his way between his residence and his office, was taught by some waggish boys to salute him with—"There goes the man with the long pigtail:" and this the parrot learned to sing out, without any prompting, whenever Mr. Palmer made his appearance; the continual repetition of which remark was so disagreeable to him, that he changed his route, and went through another street, to avoid it. Now we have no right to suppose that the bird knew the meaning of what it uttered, or was itself cognizant of the remarkable length of Mr. Palmer's pigtail; it simply learned to distinguish the individual, and to utter the phrase which it had been taught to associate with the sight of him. On the same simple principles we may explain most, if not all, of what appears most marvellous in the following account of a parrot, furnished to Mr. Jesse by the sister of the lady to whom it belonged:

"As you wished me to write down whatever I could collect about my sister's wonderful parrot, I proceed to do so, only promising that I will tell you nothing but what I can vouch for having myself heard. Her laugh is quite extraordinary, and it is impossible not to help joining in it oneself, more especially when in the midst of it she cries out, 'Don't make me laugh so; I shall die; I shall die,' and then continues laughing more violently than before. Her crying and sobbing are curious, and if you say, 'Poor poll, what is the matter?' she says 'So bad, so bad: got such a cold!' and after crying for some time will gradually cease, and making a noise like drawing a long breath, say, 'Better now,' and begin to laugh.

"The first time I ever heard her speak was one day when I was talking to the maid at the bottom of the stairs, and heard what I then considered to be a child cry out, 'Payne,' (the maid's name,) 'I am not well, I am not well;' and on my saying, 'What is the matter with that child?' she replied, 'It is only the parrot; she always does so when I leave her, to make me come back;' and so it proved, for on going into the room, the parrot stopped, and then began laughing, quite in a jeering way.

"It is singular enough that whenever she is affronted in any way she begins to cry, and when pleased to laugh. If any one happens to cough, or sneeze, she says, 'What a bad cold!' One day, when the children were playing with her, the maid came into the room, and on their repeating to her several things which the parrot had said, Poll looked up and said quite plainly, 'No, I didn't.' Sometimes, when she is inclined to be mischievous, the maid threatens to beat her, and she says 'No, you won't.' She calls the cat very plainly, saying, 'Puss, puss,' and then answers *mew*; but the most amusing part is, that whenever I want to make her call it, and to that purpose say, 'Puss, puss,' she always answers *mew* till I begin mewing, and then she begins calling puss as quickly as possible. She imitates every kind of noise, and barks so naturally that I have known her to set all the dogs on the parade at Hampton Court barking; and the consternation I have seen her cause in a party of cocks and hens, by her crowing, and clucking, has been the most ludicrous thing possible. She sings just like a child; and I have more than once thought it was a human being; and it is most ridiculous to hear her make what one should call a false note, and then say, 'Oh, la,' and burst out laughing at herself, beginning again in quite another key. She is very fond of singing 'Buy a Broom,' which she says quite plainly; but in the same spirit as in calling the cat, if we say, with a view to make her repeat it, 'Buy a Broom,' she always says, 'Buy a *Brush*,' and then laughs as a child might do when mischievous. She often performs a kind of exercise which I do not know how to describe, except by saying that it is like the lance exercise. She puts her claw behind her, first on one side, and then on the other, then in front, and round over her head, and whilst doing so, keeps saying, 'Come on, come on;' and when finished, says, 'Bravo, beautiful!' and then draws herself up. Before I was well acquainted with her as I am now, she would stare in my face for some time, and then say, 'How d'ye do, ma'am?' This she invariably does to strangers. One day I went into the room where she was, and said, to try her, 'Poll where is Payne gone?' and, to my astonishment, and almost dismay, she said 'Down stairs.' I cannot at this moment recollect anything more than I can vouch for myself, and I do not chose to trust to what I am told; but from what I have myself seen and heard, she has almost made me believe in transmigration."—*Dr Carpenter in London Inquirer.*

THE INFANT'S CORDIAL SYSTEM IN MANCHESTER.

I have already alluded to the practice, too common in the cotton districts, of dosing infants with narcotic medicine to keep them quiet while their mothers are at their daily work in the factories. In my former communication, I stated that the druggists were exceedingly shy of giving any information upon the point; but it is one of such great interest and importance, that I resolved, *coute qui coute*, to obtain a body of evidence upon the subject. With this view I have waited upon many medical men, examined a great many elderly factory hands, male and female, and called at no fewer than thirty-five druggists' shops.

The information given to me by medical men was general in its character, and may be summed up in the evidence elicited from Mr. John Greg Harrison, one of the factory medical inspectors, and a gentleman carrying on a very large practice amongst the operative classes:—"The system of drugging children is exceedingly common, and one of the prevailing causes of infant mortality. Mothers and nurses both administer narcotics; the former, however, principally with the view of obtaining an undisturbed night's rest. The consequences produced an imbecility, caused by suffusion on the brain, and an extensive train of mesenteric and glandular diseases. The child sinks into a low torpid state, wastes away, to a skeleton, except the stomach, which swells, producing what is called pot-belly. If the children survive the treatment, they are often weakly and stunted for life. To this drugging system, and to defective nursing, its certain concomitant, not to any fatal effect inherent in factory labor—the great infant mortality in the cotton towns is to be ascribed."

Dr. Harrison remarks that the practice of procuring abortion was sadly common, particularly among unmarried women, and among married women living separated from their husbands. A person in Stockport is notorious for the extent of his practice in this way, instruments, and not drugs, being the usual means employed.

To return to the narcotic part of the subject.—From evidence given me by mill hands themselves, I select the following cases, observing that they merely serve as samples of the ordinary stories told me by those who were sufficiently candid to speak out upon the subject.

An intelligent male operative, in the Messrs. Morris's mill, in Salford, stated that he and his wife put out their first child to be nursed. The nurse gave the baby "sleeping stuff," and it died in nine weeks. The neighbors told his wife how the baby was dosed, but the nurse denied that the child had ever got anything of the kind. They never sent a child out to be nursed again. For that one they paid 3s. 6d. a week, and the weeks that the nurse washed for it, 4s The mother had to get up at four o'clock and carry it to the nurse's every morning; but the distance was too far for her to suckle it at noon, so the child had no milk until the nurse brought it home at night. The nurses are often old women, who take in washing, and sometimes they have three or four children to take care of. The mother can often smell laudanum in the child's breath, when it comes home. As for mothers themselves, they give the "sleeping stuff principally at night, to secure their own rest.

Another operative in the same mill gave the following evidence:—He had put out one child to nurse, and he and his "missus" had sorely rued it ever since. The child, a girl, had never been healthy and strong, and the doctors told them, when she was 14 months old, that she had been dosed, and how it would be with her. They paid 5s. a week to the nurse. His wife then earned 15s. a week in the mill. At present he thought that 4s. was about the average price paid for nursing children. The nurses very often take in washing, and put the infants to sleep by drugging them. He had six children, and they were all hearty except the first

A female weaver, in a mill in Chorlton, stated the case of a little girl who was nursed by a neighbor of hers, and who got "sleeping stuff." The child seemed to be always asleep, and lay with its eyes half open. Its head got terribly big, and its finger nails blue. The mother took the child from the nurse and carried it to the doctor, who said it was poisoned. The mother went on her knees crying, and said she had never given the child anything; but it died very soon after. The witness was a married woman, but had never had any family. She had often heard tell of the effects of "sleeping stuff," and how it killed the poor children.

Another woman, employed in the weaving room of the same mill, had put out all her children to nurse, and had lost none of them. But she had a good kind nurse—a married woman—not one of the regular old nurses who make a trade of it. She had often heard of children getting "sleeping stuff." It made them that they were always dosing, and never cared for food. They pined away, their heads got big, and they died. She carried her own child every morning to the nurse, rising for this purpose a full hour before she went to the mill, because the nurse lived some way off. The nurse did not rise at the same time, but she (the mother) put the baby into bed to her, and left it there till the evening. She did not suckle it in the course of the day, because the distance was too far to go. All her children were thriving.

I now come to the druggists. With one or two honorable exceptions, these individuals either point blank denied that the drugging system existed, or declined giving any information whatever. More than one of the proprietors of the most noted "Godfrey shops" in Manchester were amongst the latter class, whilst with the others, who repudiated the traffic entirely, several of them had their windows crowded with announcements of different forms of the medicine which they were cool enough to declare they did not sell.

My inquiries extended to the use of laudanum in different forms by people of all ages, and I transcribe the evidence of those druggists from whom I received any information worthy of the name.

A highly respectable druggist in Salford states as follows: "The use of laudanum as a stimulus by male and female adults is not at all uncommon. His sales in this way are, however, small. He disposes of about a shilling's worth weekly, in pennyworths. Some of his customers will take a tea-spoonful or a tea-spoonful and a half of laudanum; and in bad times, when they have no money, they come and beg for a dose. The sale of the crude opium has, he thinks, diminished in his part of the town. When people come for laudanum, to use it as a stimulant, he sells it mixed with tincture of gentian, in the hope that it may do them less harm. Children are drugged either with Godfrey's Cordial or stronger decoctions of opium. Every druggist makes his own Godfrey, and the stronger he makes it the faster it is bought. The medicine consists of laudanum, sweetened by a syrup, and further flavored by some essential oil of spice. Mothers sometimes dose their infants, but the nurses carry the practice to the greatest extent. The mother takes the infant from the warm bed at five o'clock in the morning, and carries it to the nurse's, where it is left till noon, and often drugged to keep it quiet."

Among the druggists who were obviously disingenuous upon the point, I may particularly mention one, not far from the Rochdale Road. He tried to pooh-pooh the whole thing. "He sold nothing of the kind, at least next to nothing—nothing worth mentioning. Oh, no. The fact was that a great deal of nonsense was talked upon the subject. Isolated cases might be found, but to say that there was anything like a general practice of drugging children was to raise a mere bugbear." Now, during our conversation, which occupied about five minutes, my cool and candid friend actually suited the action to the word by handing over the counter, to two little girls, three distinct pennyworths of the very drug the demand for which he was resolutely denying! I would have given something for that gentleman's power of face. I think it could be made useful.

Another druggist told me of a common feature in this hocussing system. The women go to shops where the "cordial" is made weak, and where a certain quantity—say half a teaspoonful—is prescribed as a dose. Afterwards they go to shops where the mixture is made stronger, and without making any further inquiry buy the drug, and give the child the old dose. "Yet some of the druggists," said this gentleman, "put twice or thrice as much laudanum into their Godfrey as others."

By a druggist carrying on an extensive business in a low neighborhood in Ancoats, inhabited almost exclusively by a mill population, I was informed that personally he did sell much narcotic medicine, but that it was tolerably extensively vended in small "general shops," the owners of which bought the drugs by gallons from certain establishments which he named. He informed me also that he was in the habit of making Godfrey without putting laudanum into it—a system, from all I hear, very much akin to making grog without spirits. He affirmed, however, that the carminative ingredients, used for flatulence, constituted an important element of the medicine, and one for which it was bought. He expressed his belief that the drugging system was gradually going out, and that the "old women" and midwives, who were its great patrons, were losing their hold upon the mill population. Recipes, which had been handed down in families for generations, and which often contained dangerous quantities of laudanum, were occasionally brought to him to make up, but he found little difficulty in convincing their possessors of the noxious character of the ingredients, when he was sometimes allowed to change their proportions. Sometimes a half-emptied bottle of cordial would be brought, in order that more laudanum might be put into it, a request which he always met by pretending to comply with it, and sending the applicant away with the contents of the phial increased by a few drops of harmless tincture. The mortality among infants in Manchester this gentleman attributed not to narcotics, but to careless nursing and insufficient and unwholesome suckling. "When women work nearly all day in a hot and close atmosphere, and live for the most part upon slops, their milk does children much more harm than good. Infants are suckled hastily at dinner time, while the mother is eating her own meal, and then they are left foodless until well on in the evening. The consequence is a train of stomach complaints, which carries them off like pestilence. Children who had been drugged with 'sleeping stuff' he could recognize in a moment. They never seemed fairly awake. Their whole system appeared to be sunk into a stagnant state. He believed that when such doses were administered, nurses were chiefly to blame; for mothers often come to him with their ailing children, asking, in great trouble, whether he thought that 'sleeping stuff' had anything to do with the child's illness. The proportion of illegitimate children carried off through insufficient nursing was terrible. As to adults, he knew that a good deal of opium and laudanum was taken by them. Women were his chief customers in that way. He had seen a girl drink off an ounce and-a-half of laudanum as it was handed to her over the counter. Most of these people had begun by taking laudanum under medical advice, and had continued the practice until it became habitual." While we were talking, another druggist entered the shop, and confirmed the main points of the above statement. He added, that "when he was an apprentice, twenty years ago, in a country place, principally inhabited by handloom weavers, his master used to make Godfrey in a large boiler by twenties and thirties of gallons at a brewst. He believed that the people did not drug their children half so much now-a-days. Coroners' inquests were good checks. Almost all the laudanum he sold was disposed of in pennyworths. A great number of old women took it for rheumatism."

I beg, however, to direct particular attention to the following evidence, given by a most intelligent druggist, carrying on a very large business in a poor neighborhood surrounded by mills, and a gentleman of whose perfect candor and good faith I have certain knowledge:—"Laudanum, in various forms, is used to some extent by the adult population, male and female, and to a terrible extent for young children. I sell about 2s. worth a week of laudanum, in pennorths, for adults. Some use raw opium instead. They either chew it, or make it into pills and swallow it. The country people use laudanum as a stimulant, as well as the town people. On market days, they come in from Lymm and Warrington, and buy the pure drug for themselves, and "Godfrey," or "Quietness," for the children. Habitual drunkards often give up spirits and take to laudanum, as being cheaper and more intensely stimulating. Another class of customers are middle-aged prostitutes.—They take it when they get low and melancholy. Three of them came together into my shop last night for opium to relieve pains in their limbs. These women swallow the drug in great quantities. As regards children, they are commonly dosed either with 'Godfrey' or 'Infant's Quietness.' The first is an old-fashioned preparation, and has been more or less in vogue for near a century. It is made differently by different venders, but generally speaking it contains an ounce and a-half of pure laudanum to the quart. The dose is from half a teaspoonful to two teaspoonfuls. Infant's Cordial, or Mixture, is stronger, containing on the average two ounces of laudanum to a quart. Occasionally paregoric, which is one-fourth part as strong as laudanum, is used.—Mothers sometimes give narcotics to their children, but most commonly the nurses are in fault. The stuff is frequently administered by the latter without the mothers' knowledge, but is occasionally given by the mothers' without the fathers' knowledge. I believe that women frequently drug their children through pure ignorance of the effect of the practice, and because, having been brought up in mills, they know nothing about the first duties of mothers. The nurses sometimes take children for 1s. 6d. a week. They are very often laundresses. Half-a-crown a week may be the average charge of the nurse, and the 'nursing' commonly consists of laying the infant in a cradle to doze all day in a stupified state produced by a teaspoonful of 'Godfrey' or 'Quietness.' Bad as the practice is, it would not be so fatal if the nurses and parents would obey the druggists' instructions in administering the medicine. But this is what often takes place. A woman comes and buys pennorths of 'Godfrey.' Well, all is right for five or six weeks. Then she begins to complain that we don't make the 'Godfrey' so good as we used to do; that she has to give the child more than it needed at first; and so nothing will do but she must have 'Infant's Quietness' instead, for, as she says, she has heard that that *is* better, *i. e.* stronger. But in process of time, as the child gets accustomed to the drug, the dose must be made stronger still. Then the nurses, and sometimes the mothers, take to making the stuff themselves. They buy pennorths of anniseed, and treacle and sugar, and the laudanum to it, and make the dose as strong as they like. The midwifes teach them how to brew it, and if the quantity of laudanum comes expensive, they use crude opium instead. Of course numberless children are carried off this way. I know a child that has been so treated at once; it looks like a little old man or woman. I can tell one in an instant. Often and often a mother comes here with a child that has been out to nurse, to know what can be the matter with it. I know, but frequently I dare hardly tell, for if I say what I am sure of, the mother will go to the nurse and charge her with sickening the child; the nurse will deny, point blank, that she did anything of the sort, and will come and make a disturbance here, daring me to prove what, of course, I can't prove legally, and abusing me for taking away her character. The children also suffer from the period which elapses between the times of their being suckled. The mothers often live on vegetables, and drink quantities of thin ale, and the consequence is that the children are terribly subject to weakening attacks of diarrhœa."

Hearing in several quarters of the "little shops" which retailed "Godfrey," I looked out for such an establishment, and in a back street in Chorlton, surrounded by mills, I hit upon what I wanted—a shop in the "general line," in the window of which, amongst eggs, candles, sugar, bread, soap, butter, starch, herrings, and cheese, I observed a placard marked "Children's draughts, a penny each."—There was a woman behind the counter, and on my making inquiries as to whether she sold "Godfrey," or any similar compound, she replied that she had not for six months. The draught announced in the window was purgative.

"Then you used to sell 'Godfrey?'"

"Oh, yes, we used to make it and sell it for children, when they were cross; but the people did not think ours strong enough."

"What did you make it of?"

"We took a pennorth of anniseed, a quarter of a pound of treacle, and a pennorth of laudanum (a quarter of an ounce). Then we stewed down the anniseed with water, and mixed up the whole in a quart bottle."

"And so this stuff was too weak?"

"Aye, that it was. I could have sold it fast enough if I had made it stronger; but I dar'nt do it, for fear of getting into trouble."

"Do you ever give it to your own children?"—there were several sprawling about the back parlour.

"Yes. But I never put a pennorth of laudanum into the bottle that I gave it to them out of?"

"But very strong stuff is generally used?"

"Indeed it is; you may know the children that get it at once—if you have any experience in them things—they're so sickly, and puny, and ill-looking. It's a shocking thing that poor people should be obliged to give their children such stuff to keep them quiet."—*Ibid.*

From Punch.
DOMESTIC BLISS vs. DINNER.

From Mrs. A— to Mrs. Eliza B—.:

Oh, my own Eliza!—For the first time in a married life of many years—sometimes, perhaps, a little tedious, but never decidedly unhappy—I write to you with tears in my eyes; so please excuse blots. You know what a sweet tempered, easily satisfied creature A—— used to be; the best of husbands; never looked at a bill twice; and content with cold mutton when convenient, and nothing better for dinner. If he was a little soft, I felt that it was a mercy that he was not particular, especially in the way of dinners. But, my love, all this is at an end! I am in a fair way to be driven to become a desperate woman, or a cook in my own house!

You have heard, I dare say, of one Soyer—cook, I understand, at one of those odious clubs, where he spends his time in inventing new dishes, and has a kitchen, I am told, like a drawing-room, with a chemical apparatus, and unlimited credit at the butcher's. My misery lies at that man's door. You will naturally ask how A—— came home the other day. Poor little Maria had the hooping-cough, and I had been at the Zoological Gardens, and there wasn't much of a dinner—but quite as good as many I have seen A—— thankful for. It was a cold joint with pickles. I noticed A—— didn't eat as heartily as usual. In the middle of his dinner he laid down his knife and fork, and inquired in a solemn way if I didn't think there was a sameness about cold meat? I couldn't believe my ears, and I am sure I don't know what I said: when he went on and asked, in a confused but still confident way, if I knew how to make *Pot-au-Feu*, or *Croquettes*. I thought he meant crochet-work; but it appears he alluded to a dish—a French dish.

I said I was astonished at his conduct, when he began and gave me a receipt about cutting cold beef into dice, and putting it into a stew pan with finely chopped onions, and bread crumbs, and fried parsley, and gracious knows what! You may conceive, what I looked like, when he went on about a good dinner being no more expensive than a bad one, if you knew how to manage it, and about the best economy being good cookery, and how attractive homes might be made by good dinners—and then at last the murder came out, in the shape of a little blue-covered book, called the "Modern House-wife," which he begged me to study. And I assure you my dear, that book contains enough to poison the peace of all the families that cant keep a professed cook, and gives receipts for all sorts of nice things, and bills of fare for all sizes of parties, and all in a series of letters between Mrs. L—— and Mrs. B——, who I don't believe existed.

Oh, my love, if you wish to be happy in future, don't let B—— get hold of this book. I hope Soyer is a miserable man, who wrote it, as he ought to be.

I remain your unhappy friend,
Mary A——.

From Mrs. Elizabeth B— to Mrs. Mary A—.:

My Dearest Mary: Don't make yourself uneasy on my account. A fortnight before I got your letter, I purchased Soyer's book, without B——'s knowledge; studied it, and worked from it. B—— has been an altered man ever since. For remember how he used to dine from home—being detained by business, as he said. But since I've tried some little dinners, he hasn't missed a meal. It was only yesterday, that in return for a shoulder of mutton *a la Provencale*, (which didn't cost more than sixpence to do beyond what the plain roast would have done), he took me into Madame Crinoline's and presented me with a love of a bonnet. I want a shawl to match it, and am going to make an attack to-morrow with a "*Truban de Croquettes a l' Epigram.*" Don't be frightened at the name. It isn't near so difficult to make as to read, and from the receipt, I think will prove irresistable. What a pity it is that A—— found out the book first.

I'd recommend you to make the best of a bad bargain, however, and submit to the book. I agree with you that plain dinners are done for, and that cold meats two days running will soon be considered good ground for a separation—a *mensa*—at least.

Yours, very faithfully,
Eliza B——.

An Irish Election Bill.—The following specimen of a veritable "treating" bill, furnished at a contested election not many years since, is given in "The Recollections of a Parliamentary Career," by Mr. John O'Connell:

My Bill. Bryan Garrity ✕ his mark

	£.	s.	d.
To ating (eating) 10 freeholders above stairs for Sir Marks, at three shillings and three-pence a head is to me	2	12	0
To ating 10 more below stairs, and two priests after supper, is to me	2	15	9
To six beds in one room, and four in another, at two guineas every bed; and not more than four in any one bed at any time; cheap enough, the Lord knows! is to me	22	15	0
To eighteen horses and five mewles (mules) at thirteen pence every one of them; and for a man which was lost on the head of watching them all night, is to me	5	5	0
For breakfast on tay, in the morning to every one of them and as many more as they brought, as near as I can guess, is to me	4	12	0
To raw whiskey and punch, without talking of pipes or tobacco, as well as for porter: and as well as for breaking the potato-pot and other glasses and delf, for the first day and night I am not very sure, but for the three days and a half of the election, as little as I can call it, and to be very exact it is in all, or thereabouts, as near as I can guess, and not to be particular, is to me, at the least	79	15	0
For shaving and chopping off the heads of 49 freeholders for Sir Marks, at thirteen pence every head of them by my brother, who has a wote, is to me	2	13	1
For a womit and nurse for poor, Tim Kiernan in the middle of the night, when he was expected (*i. e.* not expected to live,) is to me ten hog	8	10	10

Signed in the place of Jemmy's Carr's wife his, Bryant ✕ Garrity, mark

Sum of the total,

£.	s.	d.
2	12	00
2	15	09
22	15	00
5	5	00
4	12	00
79	15	00
2	13	01
	10	10
£110	18	9

Note.—I don't talk of the piper, or for keeping him sober so long as he was so, this is to me £0 0s. 0d.

You may say £111; so please your honor, Sir Marks send me this eleven hundred pounds by Bryan himself, send it to me by Bryan himself who and I prays for you; success always in T——, and no more at present!

A PIECE OF LEGAL ADVICE

Rennes, the ancient capital of Brittany, is a famous place for law. People come there from the extremities of the country to get information and ask advice. To visit Rennes without getting advice appears impossible to a Breton. This was true at the latter end of the last century, just as it is at present, and especially among the country-people, who are a timid and cautious race.

Now it happened one day that a farmer named Bernard, having come to Rennes on business, bethought himself that as he had a few hours to spare, it would be well to employ them in getting advice of a good lawyer. He had often heard of Monsieur Potier de la Germondaie, who was in such high repute, that people believed a lawsuit gained when he undertook their cause. The countryman inquired for his address, and procceded to his house in Rue St. George. The clients were numerous, and Bernard had to wait some time. At length his turn arrived, and he was introduced. M. Potier de la Germondaie signed to him to be seated, then taking off his spectacles, and placing them on his desk, he requested to know his business.

'Why, Mr. Lawyer,' said the farmer, twirling his hat, 'I have heard so much about you, that, as I have come to Rennes, I wish to take the opportunity of consulting you.'

'I thank you for your confidence, my friend, you wish to bring an action, perhaps?'

'An action! oh, I hold that in abhorrence! Never has Pierre Bernard had a word with any one.'

'Then is it a sentiment—a division of property?'

'Excuse, me, Mr. Lawyer; my family and I have never made a division, seeing that we all draw from the same well, as they say.'

'Well, is it to negotiate a purchase or a sale?'

Oh, no; I am neither rich enough to purchase, nor poor enough to sell!'

'Will you tell me, then, what you do want of me?' said the lawyer in surprise.

'Why, I have already told you, Mr. Lawyer,' replied Bernard. 'I want your advice—for payment, of course, as I am well able to give it to you, and I don't wish to lose this opportunity.'

M. Potier took a pen and paper, and asked the countryman his name.

'Pierre Bernard,' replied the latter, quite happy that he was at length understood.

'Your age?'

'Thirty years, or very near it.'

'Your vocation?'

'My vocation! Oh, that means what I do? I am a farmer.'

The lawyer wrote two lines, folded the paper, and handed it to his strange client.

'Is it finished already? Well and good. What is the price of that advice, Mr. Lawyer?'

'Three francs!'

Bernard paid the money, and took his leave, delighted that he had taken advantage of his opportunity.

When he reached home, it was four o'clock: the journey had fatigued him, and he determined to rest himself the remainder of the day. In the meantime the hay had been two days cut, and was completely saved. One of the working-men came to ask if it should be drawn in.

'What, this evening?' exclaimed the farmer's wife, who had come in to meet her husband. 'It would be a pity to commence the work so late, since it can be done to-morrow without any inconvenience.' The man objected that the weather might change; that the horses were all ready, and the wind was in a good quarter, and that night would set in before their work could be completed. Bernard, who had been listening to the argument, was uncertain which way to decide, when he suddenly recollected that he had the lawyer's advice in his pocket.

'Wait a minute,' he exclaimed; 'I have an advice—and a famous one too—that I paid three francs for; it ought to tell us what to do. Here, Theresa, see what it says: you can read written hand better than I.'

The woman took the paper, and read this line—'Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day!'

'That's it!' exclaimed Bernard, struck with a sudden ray of light. 'Come, be quick; get the carts, and away; boys, girls, all to the hayfield!'

His wife ventured a few more objections, but he declared that he had not bought a three-franc opinion to make no use of it, and that he would follow the lawyer's advice. He himself set the example by taking the lead in the work, and not returning till all the hay was brought in. The event seemed to prove the wisdom of his conduct, for the weather changed during the night; an unexpected storm burst over the valley; and the next morning it was found that the river had overflowed, and carried away all the hay that had been left in the fields.—The crops of the neighboring farmers were completely destroyed: Bernard alone had not suffered.

The success of this first experiment gave him such faith in the advice of the lawyer, that from that day forth he adopted it as the rule of his conduct, and became, by his order and diligence, one of the richest farmers in the country. He never forgot the service done him by M. Potiere de la Germondaie, to whom he ever afterwards carried a couple of his finest fowls every year as a token of gratitude.—*Chambers' Journal.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

"Miss Martineau's last volumes," says the *Gateshead Observer*, "have been burnt at Burton-upon-Trent, by the committee of a local library (who have thereby increased the sale of the work.) The fair heretic herself must beware of Burton. Her 'burnt children' should warn her off the fire."

The Monument Erected by Burns to Ferguson in Canongate Churchyard.—We are glad to learn that through the exertions of Mr. Robert Gilfillan, assisted by Mr. Byron, Canongate, a sufficiency of funds has now been secured to place in a state of thorough repair the simple "headstone" erected by Robert Burns over the grave of Robert Ferguson, to the decayed condition of which attention was called a few weeeks ago.

Burning the Dead.—An association has been formed, at the City of London Mechanics' Institution, to promote the practice of decomposing the dead by the agency of fire. The members propose to burn, with becoming solemnity, such of their dead as shall have left their remains at the disposal of the association. The entrance fee is 1s.; and the council meet to enrol members, &c., on the second and last Wednesday in each month.

The *Cork Reporter* publishes the following extract of a letter from Father Mathew, received by his brother in that city, and dated Philadelphia, Dec. 10:—"The alarm about my health is totally unfounded, for I am in much better health than when I left Ireland, notwithstanding the excessive fatigue I have been obliged to undergo. The hot air from the stoves does not agree with me. I am to leave Philedelphia next Tuesday morning, for Baltimore, and after a day's delay in that city, shall proceed at once to Charlestown, South Carolina, where I shall enjoy the warm atmosphere of the sunny South."

Ancient Relic.—A few weeks since, some workmen were inspecting the roof of a house in Ringwood, when they discovered between the chimneys a rush hassock and a pair of cavalier's boots, such as were worn in the time of Charles II: they were in good condition, and appear to have been taken off wet and dirty. The high piece to protect the knee is ten and a half inches deep, and twenty-two inches round. In the year 1686 James Duke of Monmouth was at Ringwood; is it probable that these belonged to him, or any of the fugitives from his party? It is evident that this solitary place was selected for concealment, and the occupier must have got an aperture twenty inches square, which was left to have access to the top of the house. About this time, the unfortunate Lady Lisle was beheaded for giving shelter to two of the duke's party at Moyles Court-house, near Ringwood.

A Rural School.—The rural reporter of the *Morning Chronicle* mentions a school which he visited at Woreham, in connexion with the Hartismere Union. During the examination of the children, a number of questions were asked and answers given; among others the following:—Why was Lazarus seen afar off in Abraham's bosom?—Because he was Abraham's father. What is a publican?—A Pharisee. What was Matthew?—A fisherman. What did the Jews expect the Messiah to be?—A false prophet. What is faith?—The substance of anything seen. How many Houses of Parliament are there?—Three—two. What is the Upper one called?—The House of Dukes. What is the Lower one called?—The House of Gentlemen. Who puts on the taxes?—The Queen. Suppose you were to send a person to the House of Commons, who would he represent?—Gentlemen. If you were to send one, who would you send?—You, sir (to the chaplain.) What would you send me there for?—To collect money.

We have before us (says the *Weekly Chronicle*), a return moved for by Mr. Bright, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 29th of June last. It extends over 118 pages, printed in small type in close columns, and give the details of 165 convictions at the assizes, 10,163 at quarter and petty sessions, and of 50 coroners' inquests, returning 37 verdicts of wilful murder, 2 of manslaughter, 3 of justifiable homicide, and 8 of accidental death. The return is for England and Wales, and it extends from the 5th of May, 1846, to the 1st of August, 1848, and so embraces a period of scarcely 27 months. It gives an account of pains and penalties, varying from fines to 15 years' transportation, inflicted upon 10,778 persons, and of the violent deaths of 50; and every county of England and Wales has contributed its quota to the columns of this return.

It may well be asked in what way these fifty persons met their deaths? Were they beset by housebreakers, or defending life, liberty, or property? Nothing of the sort. They died in battle for pheasants, hares, and patridges, and the 10,778 persons variously punished by fines, imprisonment and transportation, were simply bird catchers.

Luther and Melancthon Believed in Ghosts.—As it would be impossible to doubt the veracity of Melancthon, and difficult to question the soundness of his judgment, it may be to the purpose to relate, upon his authority, what he states himself to have witnessed. Travelling in Germany, in company with some other persons, they saw a bird, of an unusual appearance sitting upon a tree, and singing with a human voice; at last it clapped its wings, and exclaimed, "Oh, eternity! eternity! who can tell the length of eternity?" Melancthon immediately commanded it, in the name of the Holy Trinity, to say what it was: whereupon it exclaimed, "I am a damned spirit!" and immediately flew away. This amiable and learned man was, however, a victim to hypochrondriasis, as was his more renowned contemporary, Luther. The latter sleeping one night with a bag of nuts at the head of his bed, which nuts were the present of a lady, the devil, as he tells us, took the liberty to crack the nuts and to fling the shells at the lawful owner. "Do me the favor to dispose of them otherwise," said Luther, "you are perfectly welcome to the nuts, but do not throw the shells in my face."—*Cradle of Twin Giants.*

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